

PEACE NEWS

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ATTACKS ON BRITISH SHIPS

What Premier Revealed

INTERESTS THE EMPIRE DOES DEFEND

From a Correspondent

TWENTY British ships have been attacked by Franco's bombers in Spanish ports. In a statement in the House of Commons on Tuesday, Mr. Chamberlain explained that he did not intend to do anything to secure the safety of British shipping in Spanish waters.

His statement made clear three things:

1. *It answered the Franco Government's case that military supplies on British ships were any justification or excuse for the bombing.*

Britain has secured herself against this by non-intervention legislation. Ships arriving have a non-intervention officer on board. Mr. Chamberlain referred to only one possible exception, in which the case was *sub judice*. This is the case of the s.s. *Stancroft*, accused of carrying war material, which is now being tried in Gibraltar. Mr. Pritt, KC, has gone out for the defendants. In any case, whatever the verdict, the infringement is not a substantial matter.

2. *Mr. Chamberlain admitted that in some cases at least the bombing was deliberately directed against British ships, the reason, judging from the Burgos Government's statement, being that General Franco, and Mussolini behind him, are very anxious to hasten victory by starving out the Government and that British ships are among the few that are still able to bring food to Spanish Government territory.*

If British shipping also gives up trying to bring aid to the Government, Franco will have succeeded in establishing by terrorism something equivalent to the blockade which legally he has not been able to accomplish.

3. *Mr. Chamberlain made it clear that he was not prepared to abandon non-intervention and that the situation, after a long period in which other Powers had been intervening under the pretence of non-intervention, was such that the only way of protecting British ships on the ordinary peaceful work of carrying food to foreign ports would be to set up anti-aircraft guns which would have to fire at all approaching aircraft and so in effect involve Britain in intervention.*

NOT A "VITAL INTEREST" NOW

This statement by a British Premier is another example of the extraordinary change shown by a British Government in its attitude to what has always been regarded as a "vital interest."

Hitherto it has always been assumed that any attack on British shipping would be regarded as an attack on the Empire itself and that the demand for the protection of British lives and property would be overwhelming. We must take it that this is no longer to be as-

(Continued on page 15, col. 1).

IS SIMON OUT OF STEP?

In a speech at Hainton Hall, near Louth, Sir John Simon, Chancellor of the Exchequer, said:

I repudiate altogether the outlook that war is inevitable, that certain countries are bound to be our enemies, that all we have to do is to try to keep them as powerless and weak as we can.

EMPIRE: EXHIBITION AND REALITY



The United Kingdom Government Pavilion at the Glasgow Empire Exhibition.
(Another picture on page nine.)

Another Pacifist Poster Banned

AN instance of censorship preventing the display of a Peace Pledge Union poster—similar to that at Highgate reported a fortnight ago—has just been provided, also from North London.

Following a meeting of a Poster Advertisers' Censorship Committee a contractor engaged by the PPU to put up posters notified his intention of covering one already put up. This read:

Peace will be secured when men refuse to fight. 120,000 in this country have already done so. Help to swell the number. Join the Peace Pledge Union.

The censorship committee, which is apparently a local body, had objected to the first phrase on the poster.

OTHER PLANS

The posters were an important part of publicity planned in connexion with a peace week being held by the Hornsey PPU group. Despite the censorship, however, the group is continuing with other plans which had been made.

Copies of the PPU Manifesto are being distributed to every house in the N.8 postal area (about 10,000). A poster parade tonight will probably be the first of several. Yesterday two members of the group were selling PEACE NEWS in Crouch End Broadway; this method of bringing the pacifist message before the public will now be employed every Friday and Saturday.

STOP WAR TO STOP BOMBING

Britain Also Preparing Air Murder

THE American Government has added to its condemnation of bombing of civilians an official attempt to discourage the sale of American aircraft to those who practise such bombing. This policy is directed chiefly toward Japan.

Partly on the ground, however, that it is well known that Great Britain is an offender on the North-West Frontier of India, American peace organizations have protested against the British purchase from America of 400 military aircraft.

The protest, which has come from the organizations which work through the National Council for the Prevention of War, argues that a trade in munitions like that which drew America into the Great War is rapidly growing up.

YET "MURDER MUST BE STOPPED"

The American Government would probably argue that, as the 400 aircraft in question do not include bombers, the question of Britain's methods on the North-West Frontier does not arise. But in this connexion it is interesting to note that the *News Chronicle*, in a typical British comment, welcomed the news of the British purchase, and added that

orders, not in hundreds but in thousands, will be necessary, and not merely for scouts and training machines but for the

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Shop-window At Glasgow Dressed With Guns

WHAT IT MIGHT BE

By J. D. MACLEAN

THE promoters of the Glasgow Empire Exhibition apparently believe that if the trade and commerce of the British Empire increases, world prosperity and peace will follow.

They do not appear to have even a glimmering of the truth which history and experience are writing more plainly every day, that the greater the prosperity of any imperialist Power, the less chance peace has even of existing.

Surrounding themselves at the opening ceremony with soldiers—and with architects, artists, craftsmen, tradesmen, and labourers glaringly absent from the whole display—lapping themselves in yards of bunting, the capitalist promoters of the exhibition were so utterly blind to the inherent viciousness of their system that the men who built the exhibition had to down tools and strike for decent wages.

A Hidden Message

And yet the exhibition, to anyone who can truly see it—and you can't truly see it by just coming to Bellahouston Park and gaping at buildings, it requires other eyes than that—has a prophetic message of hope, not just for Britain, but for the world. In it is enshrined the brain and skill and labour of men.

Capitalism has let itself go—not disinterestedly, of course; it has indulged in an orgy of window-dressing. The prophecy and the hope are not there, but in the skill and genius and the organizing ability of human beings.

They are contained in the creative work, work which, when it is undertaken freely by men as a human duty, the common duty of man to man, will create out of the mists of hatred and fear a kingdom of brotherhood and peace.

It is for us to plan and work for the coming of that day. There are many difficulties in the way and most of them are in human minds. In the exhibition which I foresee the highest tower will not be the Tower of Empire but the Tower of Peace.

True, there is a "Peace Pavilion" at Bellahouston Park, which the King and Queen had not time to enter, but it is wrongly named. It is the League of Nations' Pavilion, and the authorities responsible for it will not permit one single leaflet or book to be sold or distributed within the entire place which seeks to point the true way of peace, the way of non-violence and love and brotherhood.

Killing Power on Show

During the whole six months' run of the exhibition not a single display or manifestation is planned to show

(continued on page 2).

Stop Bombing

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 3)
 bombers and fighting planes which American factories could perfectly well supply. Typical also of the Left-wing press was the *News Chronicle's* demand (on the same page as the news of the American purchase) that "Air Murder Must Be Stopped" by a boycott of Japanese goods and a lifting of the embargo on arms for the Spanish Government.

Admission that Bombing Will Continue

It may be recalled that only three years ago Hitler condemned air bombing and that Mussolini had previously made an offer of air disarmament.

On May 21, 1935, Hitler said:

The outlawing of bomb warfare against helpless civil populations would be the greatest factor for calming and making safe the populations of all nations.

Germany condemns weapons which first and foremost must bring death and destruction to women and children not participating in the fight. Nations which use them should be outlawed as outside the pale of humanity, its rights and laws.

Mussolini's offer, made before Hitler had come to power in Germany, was: "I am prepared to cut down my army and navy and air force to the lowest figure which anybody else will accept."

These words are interesting in view of the fact that German comments on British condemnation of bombing in Spain and China pointed to Britain's record on the North-West Frontier. It is now being claimed here that the Frontier civilians are not bombed. An account by an eye-witness, however, suggests otherwise.

AN EYE-WITNESS ON THE FRONTIER

In the *News Chronicle* on June 5, 1933, Lieut.-Col. Arthur Osborne wrote:

How many who insist that the maintenance of the British Empire depends on our aviators being allowed to bomb the flocks and herds and the women and children in Arab and Indian villages trouble to visualize what actually happens?

On such occasions the men of the village are often absent, so it is non-combatants who are usually the chief victims. When our troops enter a bombed village the pariah dogs are already at work eating the corpses of the babies and the old women who have been killed. Many, suffering from ghastly wounds, especially some of the young children, are found still alive covered in flies and crying for water. As all uninjured adults have fled these mutilated women and children must perforce lie unattended.

This account is admittedly five years old. But whatever may be the practice on the North-West Frontier today, the fact remains that Britain is preparing to bomb civilians in the event of war.

Lieut.-Col. Sir Thomas Moore, Conservative MP, wrote in a letter to *The Times* on Monday:

We blame General Franco for his indiscriminate bombing, and yet each day and every day we in this country are preparing without protest against similar methods from a potential enemy. Otherwise, why our intense concern in regard to air raid precautions?

But I go further. Coupled with our precautions against attack we eagerly and earnestly debate as to whether our bombers can get in first, and so deter the potential murderer from his task.

In other words, we blame Franco for doing today what we are prepared to do tomorrow, should the necessity arise.

As an alternative to "this insane outlook" be appealed for the mixture of "a little reason and more logic" with our natural humanity.

ESSENTIAL PART OF WAR ITSELF

If any doubt remained that bombing from the air is an essential part of war today, it was dispelled by *The Times* itself on Wednesday. Pointing out that "rules of war which were made for artillery and surface ships cannot in most cases be observed by airmen, even when they wish to observe them," a leading article added:

It is unfortunately futile to suppose that present or future belligerents are going to deprive themselves of the use of these weapons altogether because they infringe international conventions.

The Times expected such conditions to continue "until the day comes when the use of these new instruments of destruction can be prevented by a real threat of overwhelming collective retaliation."

In other words, says *The Times* in effect, any nation is liable to go on

Glasgow Exhibition

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 4)

Britain's desire for peace, and her good will to other nations. On the other hand there will be demonstrations of her killing power to express her attitude to potential enemies, whoever they may be.

There will be a military tattoo, a naval week, and aerial displays, but not a single attempt to illustrate our pacific intentions, our much boosted good will.

"Come and look in our shop window, Mr. World; but remember, if you try to interfere with our profit making we will kill you as brutally as we know how!" That is the message of the Empire Exhibition to the world.

Some day, when capitalism no longer controls our destinies, when war and murder are banished from our hearts and minds, we will organize a grander exhibition—an open window into our lives, and we'll have better things to show and nothing to hide.

Just now in Bellahouston Park there is a Scottish Highland village, where ornate villagers live a life of theatrical cleanliness and tranquility, but there's no Indian village where poverty-stricken people bow in squalor to receive the blows of British soldiers and policemen, who are ordered to force them to pay the salt tax. There are magnificent displays in the colonial pavilions of the wealth which we still wring from the subject nations of the Empire, and which does nothing to improve the lot of the British poor; but there are no specimens of Chinese coolies suffering from beri-beri through under-nourishment; and there are no Ceylonese jungle slaves.

The Empire Exhibition is a front window display, backed by guns and bombs and the broken lives of millions of men and women. One day there will be another exhibition which will show our earnestness to do our part and make our sacrifice that prosperity and peace may visit all nations, an exhibition which will express not only our desire for peace, but our wholehearted will to peace. God grant that it be a British one; it will certainly not be an Empire Exhibition.

UNREAL PICTURE OF ARMY LIFE

From a Correspondent

Among the pavilions at the exhibition is one devoted to the Services, where small boys, as well as adults, lovingly handle weapons of destruction. These are smilingly described by obliging NCO's on duty as if they were vacuum cleaners or something equally harmless. Photographs of cheery soldiers in camp line the walls and an automatic cinema shows at intervals a short coloured film wherein the "pageantry" of the army is much in evidence.

Similar to the Aldershot Tattoo in its remoteness from real war is the military display given in the Ibrox Stadium, near the exhibition, every day. In addition photographs and models from the pavilion are being used in a mobile Army Information Bureau which is touring Scotland.

One redeeming feature is that schoolchildren in Glasgow were not sent to the display. In the case of the Aldershot Tattoo thousands of children saw a rehearsal, but in the case of Glasgow the Director of Education declined a similar invitation. The approval of the Department of Education would have been necessary, to secure which it would have had to be shown that the display was of educational value.

The fact that the sword was no longer officially a weapon of war—although it is still much in evidence at military displays—was the reason given for a decision of the Army Council some months ago that "swords will be carried on active service and in 'marching order' by officers serving in Cavalry regiments only."

bombing until other nations promise to do the same only worse! So we get it both ways—while the method of war remains a possibility.

The assertion that belligerents would not give up bombing because it infringed international conventions was based on military facts.

The Japanese Naval Staff was reported to have regarded the recent bombing operations on Canton as "satisfactory from the military point of view." Accordingly the raids were to continue. Clearer proof could hardly be needed that, given war, one must in these days expect bombing.

Public Affairs**COMMENTARY****Stafford By-Election**

TAKING every factor into account, Labour suffered a serious setback at Stafford and its significance should not be lost on the Labour leadership. In the one month between the Lichfield and Stafford elections, Labour has clearly lost its none-too-strong grip on public opinion.

There can be no doubt that the so-called air muddle debate in the House of Commons on May 25 is mainly responsible.

That debate showed that the Parliamentary Labour Party is now not only not opposing the present rearmament programme but is actually setting itself up to drive the Government to bigger and better weapons of offensive destruction.

From the lowest consideration of pure political tactics Labour is making a profound mistake. The rearmament voter will never support Labour, but Labour's support of the armament policy is losing it the peace vote. There is evidence now of the growing unrest in the ranks of the party over this latest twist in the pursuit of the "collective security" ideal.

Trade Unions and Rearmament

CERTAIN sections of the Government's supporters are growing impatient at what they call the unwarranted delay in settling the labour problem of rearmament. The trade unions catering for the armament industries are still considering their position.

One can only hope that the ill-advised attempts to make these unions consider the political issues rather than the industrial issues will no longer be repeated.

Nothing could have been more damaging to our parliamentary democracy than that the unions should assume to dictate to a democratically elected government the political policy of the country.

On the industrial question their position is different. They have had bitter experience of broken promises and unfulfilled pledges when on a previous occasion they gave up their hard-won rights. Profiteering in armaments has now reached enormous proportions and the unions may well ask why they should relax their rules for the benefit of the arms profiteer.

The Unemployment Problem

THE latest unemployment returns show another ominous increase. This heartrending scourge of our civilization remains the fundamental issue of our age, and it stands as a terrible challenge to our democratic institutions. Despite its magnitude, unemployment had all but disappeared as a public issue, but the recent increases will no doubt bring it back into the public arena.

What is needed, however, is not to make this problem of human misery a temporary shuttlecock of political parties who are all equally bankrupt in constructive unemployment policy.

The Labour Party is historically the champion of the unemployment issue and we may ask whether it would not be more loyal to its ideals and traditions if it took up this question again on the basis of a long-range national policy rather than supporting the policies of arms and preparation for war.

Unemployment remains the breeding-ground of dictatorship ideas, be they communist or fascist.

Austrian Loans

SINCE Great Britain repudiated her war debt to America, the argument of expediency then used has robbed Great Britain of that high-sounding tone of moral unction which she had found so useful in compelling debtors to meet their obligations to the city financiers. More and more nations have repudiated their debts and Germany looks like repudiating the Austrian loans.

The danger here is not the moral issue of repudiated debts but the use

for war-mongering that this repudiation may involve.

Already the ugly charge of "dumping" is being worked up against Germany. But this charge has not been left unanswered by Germany. As we pointed out to America, debts can only be paid in goods, and to charge Germany with dumping and at the same to accuse her of repudiating her debts is to create a situation in which whatever she does is wrong.

After all, German trade in this country is under an agreement which lays down exactly how the payments are to be made, and a high proportion of her receipts must be spent in this country.

It looks as if we are at the beginning of a very dangerous economic war with Germany which can only lead to a further poisoning of the international atmosphere. Neither in debt repudiation nor in dumping, if proved, is this country in a position to hold up a clean moral record.

Czechoslovakia

THE renunciation by Herr Hitler of the German minority in the Italian Tyrol will have some effect on the issues raised by the Sudeten German minority in Czechoslovakia who are now negotiating with the Government as to their position. This is now the most sensitive problem in Europe.

The real issue is whether these Sudeten Germans will ever be called upon to fight against Germany.

Those so-called Peace Alliances of 1935 between France and Russia and Czechoslovakia and Russia are a fundamental issue because they represent a potential menace, in German eyes, which the Sudeten Germans will not tolerate.

Russia has the largest and most efficient air force in the world and by means of this alliance Czechoslovakia could become the jumping-off ground for this air force making every corner of Germany vulnerable to air attack without Germany being able to retaliate.

These Sudeten Germans were Austrians twenty years ago, and Austrians now are Germans, and these Sudeten Germans may well be disturbed by the prospect of their becoming involved in a war with their blood relations. It was a black day in the history of the League of Nations when these alliances were approved.

Social Credit in Saskatchewan

THE Social Credit Party has been routed in the provincial elections of Saskatchewan, despite the vigorous support of the Alberta movement. This defeat was inevitable as the constitutional powers of the provincial governments are so limited in Canada that they are quite unsuitable for the application of social credit ideas.

Despite doubts as to its technical details, the issues raised by the social credit movement are the living issues of our age, and this defeat may perhaps help the movement to reconsider its position so that these issues can be presented to better advantage.

The Colonial Debate

JAMACIA played the most prominent part in the debate on the vote for the Colonial Office Services. The troubles there have brought a general realization of the disgraceful conditions under which the native population live and work. A Royal Commission is to be set up.

The real trouble, however, is not local. It lies in the economic problem of our age with its abundance on one hand and lack of purchasing power on the other.

One may well ask how we can justify the big subsidies to sugar beet growers in this country when the West Indies are ruined by a superfluity of sugar. One may also ask what part the British sugar monopoly has played in creating the present conditions.

Poverty—the Scourge of India

EMPIRE LEVIES TRIBUTE ON LIFE AND WEALTH

From Our Own Correspondent

District Council Office,
BETUL, C.P.

A premonsoon storm is breaking around us as we trudge along a jungle track between two villages. Approaching us we see a strange, unhappy-looking pair. One of them bears a likeness to a horse, yet it is but a collection of bones held together by skin. Over its back is a bundle of rags, and at each side is slung a dirty can of oil. Beside this spectre trudges a little shrunken woman, her bare feet squelching in the mire. With her rain-drenched sari hanging miserably around her, she makes for market, where perhaps she may get a few pice for her oil. Retracing our steps we come across her again—companionless and weeping. The horse has collapsed in the storm.

Another day and the sun is scorching. We meet a man with a load of wood upon his head. He has gathered it and will walk barefoot for eight miles, sell it, and return—all for the equivalent of one penny.

Here is a village school. Some boys are eating, from scraps of cloth, their mid-day meal. It consists of pancake made of poor flour and water, eaten with salt and red pepper.

THESE are a few of the symptoms of the scourge of India. The many causes are correlated.

One could fix the blame on malaria, since it incapacitates a great many people during the course of the year and swallows a sum total of a thousand million working days. Evil after-effects and reduced vitality further lower the effectiveness of workers.

Ignorance in agriculture might also be selected as a primary cause. For the painfully prehistoric methods have produced a situation in which production is steadily decreasing, seeds deteriorating, and food getting shorter, while the population increases. But then the peasant farmer is so poor that he cannot afford either better implements or good seed.

In 1930 it was estimated that the income of millions averaged 3d. per day.

The government counts sixfold as a full crop and collects taxes on that basis. So the farmer already in debt becomes more so with successive seasons of decreasing yield and perpetual tax.

PAY FOR BEING DOMINATED

Ninety percent of India's people face this prospect. There was a time when they could supplement income with the sale of hand-made goods. Cottage industries were well developed and cotton and silk goods, carpets, brass, and ivory work were the envy of the world. The influx of factory goods and the manipulation of imperial preference have strangled all this. Lancashire mills sent

State Subsidies for Peace Work

From Our Own Correspondent

In these days of war-time budgets it is refreshing to find that certain Governments are still prepared to allocate a small proportion of their revenue to subsidizing propaganda for peace, to the detriment directly and indirectly of armament manufacturers.

For the financial year 1937-38 the Swedish Parliament authorized a subsidy of 11,000 krona to the Förening Mellanfolklig Samarbete för Fred (Association for International Cooperation for Peace).

A further 3,000 krona was allocated to the Association by the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament.

cotton goods to the villagers. With what was he to buy?

Over and above these factors there is the cost of an expensive alien administration which in the last analysis falls upon the stricken masses. They pay also for the mechanism of subjection—the bombers and bayonets, machine guns, and prisons.

This is mainly a one-way traffic. Very little of the wealth gets back to its creators. It flows away from the villages, away from India. For the Europeans demand European commodities and comforts. Thus there flows a stream of wealth into the pockets of British capitalists.

The sum total effect is like a continuous loss of blood from a main artery. For wealth is the lifeblood of the body politic.

HOW TO END THE SCOURGE

So it appears that a drastic operation is necessary, shearing away the cancerous idea of imperio-capitalism.

What better way than by the sending of a vast expeditionary force—of real civil servants, an armada of peace equipped with all modern means of instruction and construction, with aeroplanes, bags of seed, cranes and concrete-mixers, bats and balls?

True patriotism would support the adventure with men and money, England would find salvation, India be revitalized, and the nations be set upon the highway of peace.

SETTLEMENT OF DIFFERENCES IN MYSORE

The differences between the Maharaja and Government of Mysore and the Mysore State Congress, which followed the shooting by police on an unarmed crowd gathered to honour the National Congress flag, have been settled.

The Congress organization is prepared to cooperate with the Government in constitutional reforms, and the Government, in return, is ready to recognize the Congress as a political organization.

Three new members, selected by the Mysore State Congress, are to be added to the Committee on Constitutional Reforms—a result of the Government's "desire that all political organizations within the State should have the fullest opportunity to make constructive proposals in the Committee. The latter may discuss and recommend any plan for constitutional reform, including a plan for responsible government under the aegis of the Maharaja."

CONCESSIONS

The local Congress body has accepted Mr. Gandhi's advice that on ceremonial occasions the national flag and the Mysore flag shall be hoisted together, the former flag being hoisted alone at purely party meetings.

The settlement also includes withdrawal by the State Congress of the civil disobedience and no-tax campaign, and withdrawal by the Government of prohibitory orders as well as release of political prisoners.

ATTITUDE TO STATES

The settlement has been approved by the Congress Working Committee—the national executive body—in a resolution which also declares:

The Working Committee thinks that H. H. the Maharaja should establish responsible government in his State so that the responsibility for law and order, including firing whenever it is deemed necessary, will be shouldered by a government answerable to the people.

It should further be borne in mind that though there is a growing party among Congressmen which seeks the total abolition of States as relic of the Middle Ages, the policy of the Congress as a whole has hitherto been and remains one of friendliness to the States in the hope that they will recognize the signs of the times and establish responsible government within their borders and otherwise extend and guard the liberty of the people under their jurisdiction.

A Reader's Picture



WHILE we are in the throes of an exhibition designed to tell the world about the British Empire, here is a picture taken by a reader at the Paris Exhibition, where many nations were represented. It shows the Russian Pavilion, and was sent by J. W. Berrill, of Northampton.

Summer holidays have now started, and you will be using your camera once again. Don't forget to send your most interesting pictures to PEACE NEWS.

"PILGRIMS" CARRY MESSAGE TO THOUSANDS

From a Correspondent

NEW YORK.

THE great interest of large crowds on Fifth Avenue, and of people in taxis and buses, together with press notices, testified to the value of a poster parade carried out by members of pacifist organizations in New York.

The parade was to protest against all war propaganda, including recent black-out proceedings on Long Island, and was organized by the United Pacifist Committee, of which the Rev. A. J. Muste is chairman.

Mr. Muste said:

We are all through with all war. We are not frightened by all the bogey-men of Europe and Asia. But we are frightened by the increasing militarization of the United States, and we demand disarmament now. We have no battleships or airplanes, no billion-dollar fund with which to dramatize our viewpoint. So we go on foot, like the pilgrims of old.

"AVOID TAKING SIDES": APPEAL TO CATHOLICS

An appeal to all Catholics to "avoid partisan attitudes" on Spain has been issued by Cardinal Verdier of France through the journal *La Paix Civile*.

He blessed the work of this paper, which is devoted to "civil and religious peace in Spain."

DRUGS AS WEAPON OF WAR IN CHINA

DRUGS are now being used to assist the Japanese in the conquest of China. Muriel Lester, who went to China to investigate the situation, has issued an alarming report.

The Nanking Government had ordered a vigorous fight against the traffickers and users of heroin and morphine by fixing the death penalty for salesmen and incurable addicts.

All this work has been nullified by the Japanese, apparently for the purpose of demoralizing the Chinese population, and making it unfit to fight the invaders.

The trade is no longer carried on by the Japanese themselves, but they have transferred it to Korean agents, who operate under Japanese protection.

In Peking many small clinics have been opened by the Japanese, which advertise the various diseases which they cure—they are nothing but drug dispensaries.

Drug peddlars in large numbers follow the Japanese armies and get to work on

GERMAN PAPER SHOWED WAY TO PEACE

While French Press Spoke of War

At the very moment when so many in France thought war was near, Germans, at any rate in certain districts, did not admit the possibility of it, and, when they learned of the fears of their neighbours, were stupefied.

PROFESSOR Felicien Chalaye, well-known French pacifist, makes this assertion regarding recent tension in Europe in *Le Patrie Humaine*.

He blames the French press for creating this belief in the proximity of war, and for misrepresenting Germans as looking forward to war. To support this allegation he quotes significant passages from an article by Ernst Samhaber in the *Deutsche Rundschau* (which, incidentally, could not have appeared had the views expressed not been approved by the Nazis). In his article the German writer declared:

When one hears the speeches which have been given in Paris and in the Commons, when one reads the articles which are turned out every day all over the world, when one sees to what formidable proportions armaments are growing, one concludes that men have forgotten the lessons of the last few decades and the horrors of the Great War. Otherwise, how is it that one finds men capable of playing with war in such a criminal manner?

Ernst Samhaber asked whether the British Labour Party and the French Left wing have taken into account that "war would carry off the flower of youth, solely because of the ghost raised by the idea of a Reich which might constitute a danger."

"NIGHTMARE" NEED NOT RETURN

After praise for Mr. Chamberlain the article continued:

The nightmare is beginning to leave Europe—this frightful idea of being fated once again to go through all that happened during the World War: the endless massacres by engines of war, the endless cemeteries, the unspeakable horrors of destruction, the senseless wiping out of everything built by the peaceful labour of men.

War is not inevitable! The questions which beset Europe are not of the sort that can only be solved by arms, provided statesmen do not lose their nerves and do not let themselves be led into acts which do not leave any chance of avoiding catastrophe.

But, for that, good will is needed—good will on the part of all, the will to maintain peace . . . by a spirit of understanding with regard to the natural rights of each people. For that it is also necessary that the world press should tell only the truth. Above all it is necessary that irresponsible politicians should stop playing with war.

This article, comments Professor Chalaye, was not mentioned by journalists such as "Pertinax" and Madame Tabouis. "All the more reason, therefore," he continues, "for us to ensure its circulation."

REVENUE FOR CHINA TOO

On the other hand, according to the *Far Eastern Survey*, the sale of opium is an important source of war revenue for the Chinese.

When General Chiang Kai-shek was warring against the communists he seized the two provinces of Kweichow and Yunnan, which are the main supply bases of South China's opium demand.

Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Hupeh also yield important opium revenue which, with the rise in price of opium, means a substantial sum for the military treasury.

—*Frontier News Service*.

NEW BOOKS

MEUM OR TUUM?

What I Believe. By J. D. Beresford. Heinemann. 5s.

Reviewed by Max Plowman

THIS is the first of a series of inquiries into problems that are of great importance to those who think the disorder of the civilized world is in need of thorough examination.

The editor, Mr. Ellis Roberts, proposed to hold a court of free inquiry into the beliefs which conflict so radically that the support of them threatens civilization itself. He has asked a number of thinking people, who are capable of candour, to treat his court as a place of open confession.

Very happily he leads off with Mr. Beresford, who has some essential qualifications in high degree: a scientific mind, a sensitive spirit, vital experience in the past, and a gift for the rational exposition of things profound.

More than half the book is in the form of spiritual autobiography, and in view of the epoch through which Mr. Beresford has lived, the story is a contribution to contemporary history as well as a record of what is known by that much abused word enlightenment. The whole book forms a sympathetic and penetrating analysis of rationalism.

In the last chapter, Mr. Beresford sums up his credo in the words: "I have within me all the potentialities of the omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent. I am not a part of God or member of his church, for God has neither parts nor members. If his centre is everywhere, I am that centre"; adding as an essential proviso that we shall remember always "that every other human being on this earth has the right to make a precisely similar claim."

This confession of faith set me wondering — wondering particularly why it should leave me so cold. I think I have discovered the reason.

If God is to be regarded as identifiable with me, or even as dwelling within me, then I can neither love nor worship him, and he cannot even be conceived of in his essential totality, since the subject is inseparably involved in the object of its perception.

It seems to me, therefore, that God is only to be apprehended in my neighbour: he must not even be claimed by myself, since to claim him thus is to be involved inevitably in the self-love that is the essence of egotism. Only as I apprehend God objectively can I love him even wholesomely.

Philosophically, of course, Mr. Beresford's statement stands; but the difference between religion and philosophy is made acutely apparent when we see that what is philosophically sufficient is religiously totally insufficient.

For there is no love, and hence no activity, in the religion that offers us an introspective knowledge of God: only the fearful dangers of spiritual pride and the assumption of moral virtue. But where love is, there is no room for pride, and in the objective vision of God there may be totality of apprehension.

It seems to me that no individual should ever lay claim to God, ultimately for as simple a reason as the fact that we cannot indulge self-love and sustain any love for our neighbour at the same time. God-in-me shouldn't matter to me; because my whole concern should be with God-in-you.

AN AMERICAN ON THE LABOUR PARTY

The Labour Party in Transition 1931-1938. By Dean E. McHenry. Routledge. 7s. 6d.

This book, dealing mainly with the Labour Party as a political machine, is written by an American from a detached angle and free from all sectional or party bias. It is an excellent bit of work, showing a remarkable understanding and appreciation of the inner life of the party.

It is no exaggeration to say that the vast majority of active members of the Labour Party, even those with ten or twenty years' service behind them, have virtually no idea of the workings of the Labour Party constitution. They have even less idea of the controlling forces

which ultimately decide party policy and party activity.

There is a democratic facade which has satisfied the ordinary member, but which has begun to wear very thin, and there is now an ever-growing demand for the democratization of the party. This centres mainly on the position of the constituency Labour parties which represent the real political and, as McHenry shows, even the financial backbone of the Party, but which have virtually no power or influence.

To many members of the party this movement to strengthen the position of the constituency parties is little understood because the actual position of the constituency Labour Party is not understood. To the outsider this movement must appear meaningless and incomprehensible.

There has been no book in existence which could explain the party machinery and so make this movement comprehensible. Dean McHenry in this book fills a long left need and one can only regret that the price is against any large sale to the ordinary party member.

Mr. McHenry shows how powerful in recent years the National Council of Labour has become in determining party policy.

It is still widely assumed that the annual party conference determines party policy. This is no longer true. The dissatisfaction felt in the ranks of the party at the direction party policy has taken is bound to lead to a powerful challenge from constituency parties as to the position of an unelected body making these decisions.

It is no doubt due to this growing demand of constituency parties to a fair share in the control of the party which leads McHenry to adopt the title for his book.

Chapter twelve on "Socialism and Labour Party Tactics" is perhaps the weakest in the book, and this may not be entirely the author's fault. The book gives a complete picture of the party machine and it shows how much it depends upon the enthusiastic and self-sacrificing voluntary service of its members. But it does not give an adequate idea for what purpose this machine exists or why it can inspire such devoted service.

The book requires an introduction written by a prominent but detached leader of the party who can convey the idealism of human liberty and human rights which moves this vast and complicated machine.

BEN GREENE.

TOWARD A SLAVE STATE

The Land of Liberty. By James Curtis. Secker and Warburg. 3s. 6d.

This book is practically a reprint of Fact number six (*A Guide to British Liberties*, by James Curtis), published eight months previously. Anyone who possesses that Fact—and I suppose that everyone who buys those admirable sixpences, regards them as books to be kept, not as magazines to be thrown away—will not thank the publishers for giving him an old book in a new dress, unacknowledged, at seven times the price; though, to be fair, the book under review is not expensive for its format.

There are three new sections added: "Treatment of Prostitutes," "Police as Agents Provocateurs," and "Trade Union Liberties and the Coming War." Apart from these, which amount to one-seventh of the whole, the book is the old Fact with occasional padding paragraphs.

The author's thesis is that "if the slave state is not yet in being [in England], it is because the exact moment for its inception has not arrived," and he produces several thoroughly disquieting facts in illustration of his argument. He reminds us that the police are in fact the standing army which the "glorious revolution" of 1688 was supposed to have banished for ever from our midst; that there is still one law for the rich and another for the poor and that the political impartiality of stipendiary and lay magistrates is not above suspicion.

There are useful appendices containing extracts from recent anti-libertarian legislation, particularly the notorious Incitement to Disaffection Act of 1934, but the author seems to invalidate rather than strengthen his claim that "much of the frame of a Fascist State

has been created, and it needs no more than a few strokes of the pen to put these laws into full force" by his own suspicious manner of tackling the subject.

I think he certainly underrates the power of English local initiative as a bulwark against bureaucracy. Our local Government has a long and honourable tradition, and often in our history a single voice raised in honest indignation in the provinces has proved more powerful than any number of pen strokes in the capital.

Still, Heaven knows we have small reason to feel complacent about the liberties which we still enjoy; and at least this book, in spite of its revolutionary clichés, provides some good ammunition for arguments.

L. B. PEKIN.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE ORIENT

Challenge of the East. By Dorothy Hogg. S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.

This is a challenging title, but the book hardly gives the challenge one is led to expect. We might justifiably expect to read here about certain aspects of the Eastern outlook which form a challenge to our Western civilization: respect for spiritual vitality and for learning, or readiness to sacrifice self for the sake of the community. Instead, we find what is certainly a very interesting account of the way the Eastern peoples have responded to Christianity and given it a new, Eastern, life and character.

We read how, in Japan, Kagawa's *Kingdom of God Movement* has transformed the lives of many. Whether its aim is really, as Mrs. Hogg says, "to oppose materialistic Marxism" may be questioned. But it certainly does appear as a Christianity unalloyed by Western interpretation, a message straight from an Eastern Christ to an Eastern people."

The Japanese, it appears, remain ignorant of efforts for peace and conciliation in the west. The militarism and imperialism of the west, which is all they know, "help to turn the scale in favour of expansion policies."

Mrs. Hogg suggests that when, if ever, the masses of Japan realize that their costly sacrifices have been made for a false ideal, they may plunge their country into revolution. "Will the Christians of the west be ready to help them live down the mistakes of the past and give a moral lead to Asia?"

When we come to China, floods, famines, plagues, droughts, bandits, and civil wars fill the picture, "and still the Chinese peasant goes back to the 'good earth' to begin all over again."

In this dark, poverty-stricken, chaotic country rose to power, in 1911, the great teacher, Sun-Yat-Sen, to be followed by the Christian General, Chiang-Kai-Shek. Christianity, in Mrs. Hogg's pages, assumes a great force. To her, as to the student whom she describes in her book, it embodies the truth "that the strength of a nation lies in the character of its people." This student declared "The old order is changing in my country. And I say to myself, 'It will be a race between Christianity and communism. Which?'"

Mrs. Hogg writes "China is suffering as she struggles toward a new order... when at last she is triumphant, will she bring fresh inspiration to the west?" Is this perhaps the "challenge" of the title? A challenge whose realization lies in the realm of possibilities, in the dim and unfathomable future?

MOSA ANDERSON.

END OF IMPERIALISM?

The Crumbling of Empire. By M. J. Bonn. George Allen and Unwin. 15s.

This is one of those rare books which combine the fruits of scholarship with an intimate understanding of present events. It is an acute analysis, assisted by painstaking research and a thorough understanding of the working of economic forces, of the present world situation and the inter-relations of economic, diplomatic, and political events. It impresses, as so few books on contemporary events do, with its thoroughness and breadth of treatment, but without being dull in doing so. Mr. Bonn has a lively and pleasant literary style, with a gift for expressing himself in a neat and pithy phrase.

The larger part of the book is devoted of course to imperialism. The age of empire-building on a vertical plane is gone for good. Primary colonization is

no longer possible since no objects suitable for it are available. But empire-making on a horizontal plane may go on, by federation or by world wars. Need colonies be redistributed?

Mr. Bonn's answer is inconclusive. While admitting that it is a counsel of perfection he reiterates the efficacy of a more liberal economic policy on the part of the richer powers in removing the causes of discontent. He foresees the difficulty that "they might well hesitate in giving the poorer countries these increased trading and credit facilities on which their armaments depend." But the risks they have to face are risks of fear and suspicion, and a policy of free trade will lessen those, whereas the institution of an "autarchic blockade" will only increase them.

He traces the growth of the use of force as a political weapon. In theory it arose from two conceptions—that society could be organized in an arbitrary way, and that physical force was necessary to forge society to the needs of man. To the communist no peaceful change is possible on fundamental issues; socialism could and must be established by violence. But if force could accelerate "progress" it could retard it. Hence fascism.

"The army was no longer the nation called to the colours; the nation was the army on leave." The two creeds differ in many respects, and while the aims of communism are ultimately pacifist, any pacifism professed by fascists is merely opportunist.

In practise, however, communism will remain non-pacifist until it has converted or conquered the world. The trouble, of course, with both fascism and communism is that since both are in the wrong each sees the other's wickedness and concludes itself right.

TREVELYAN C. GARDNER.

CATCHING THEM YOUNG

The English Nursery School. By Phoebe Cusden. Kegan Paul. 10s. 6d.

The war-like mentality of the youth of today, in several countries, gives an example of the dangerous ease with which a leader can use the malleable minds of the young to further his own ambitions.

The only safeguard against the impressionability of young people being exploited is a training from their earliest years in independent thinking. To be effective, this training cannot begin too soon.

Miss Cusden in her illuminating book, points out that the methods adopted in nursery schools, afforded the child the necessary opportunities to develop his personality freely.

Nursery schools, however, are not confined to the development of mind alone, they are planned, built, and run in order to give the two to five, or seven-year-old child the nurture which his growing mind and body requires. The children are housed in pleasant, airy buildings or shelters, in gardens where they work and play, and they are provided with wholesome meals planned by dietitians. The habits of rest and cleanliness are part of the daily curriculum.

Nursery schools perform a vital function in providing medical supervision during the years which intervene between infant welfare and elementary school medical inspection.

The danger which the children run of catching infectious diseases, which are often of a serious nature at such an early age, has been somewhat minimized, and the question of immunization from diphtheria and some other diseases is not put forward.

A strong appeal is made to extend the number of State subsidized nursery schools until these are sufficient to accommodate every child, whatever his social status, whose parents wish him to attend one.

The need for closer cooperation between the various services dealing with the child is an important point which is stressed:

Whether the solution of the problem is to be found in the creation of a department of childhood which should act as a liaison between the numerous existing ministries which are charged with duties relating to some phase of child life, or whether, since education begins with the first breath we draw, the Board of Education should be made responsible for every stage of life from the cradle to the university or the workshop, has yet to be determined.

Miss Cusden not only shows wide knowledge and experience of her subject, but also that inspiring quality of deep faith which she herself admires in the other pioneers of nursery schools.

GLADYS DIMSON.

**A Woman's
Point of View**

"I LIVE IN A FLAT . . ."

I LIVE in a flat and it isn't the heaven on earth it's often made out to be. There are four big blocks with playgrounds and drying yards in between, and we're a show place for a lot of folk who don't seem to have anything to do but to walk round and ask questions.

The question they usually ask is "Are you a slum mother?" It's not a question any of us like much. Sarah's boy gave the best answer. He goes to a lot of political meetings and he said, "Are you a slum landlord mister?" We get pretty sick of people coming in our flats and saying "How nice for you to have such a pretty, little flat. What a nice fireplace! How nice to have a bathroom." It makes us feel as though we were in the Zoo.

★

THE flats are a lot better than the houses they pulled down. The walls are painted and easy to wash down. If they get in a state the caretaker has a word with you. People don't like that much. They don't like a lot of the rules. You have to take your turn cleaning the stairs. Some people's kids make messes and others have to clear up after them.

Then there's the noise. You can put the kids to bed at seven, but they don't get to sleep before eleven. The noise from the playground goes on to ten or after in the summer.

Nearly everyone has a wireless set. Or maybe they're mending a pair of boots overhead. You can hear everything that goes on upstairs and you can hear them rowing on either side. You can hear ordinary sounds as well as noise. There's not much private life in our block.

★

FOUR front doors open on to one balcony. That's not much of an idea, and if I built a block of flats I wouldn't have it that way. Milly owes money to the shop on the corner. We all know how much. When we're on good terms we pretend not to hear what goes on at the other front doors, but when there's a row it all comes out.

There are seats in the playground, but no-one ever goes out there to sit on them. The lads turn them upside down and climb on them. No-one seems to fancy sitting in a yard with all the windows staring down at them. It's not the same as having a back yard that's your own.

There are some flower beds in the playground. They put railings round them and that didn't keep the lads out, so now there's wire as well as railings, but that doesn't stop balls getting thrown over.

It's a lot better to have a bit of ground you can dig than a patch of grass and geraniums with railings all round. In the park near here they've taken the railings down. Everybody seems to be waiting for us to do something and then tell us not to do it. It's like being at school again.

★

THERE'S one thing we don't grumble at much and that's the nursery school. It helps the mothers a lot and the kiddies get well looked after. I wish there was something though for girls and lads of over fourteen, some place where there was something for them to amuse themselves. A flat is a bit small. There's not room in one sitting room for everybody.

FOOD WITHOUT SLAUGHTER
Why not try the Vegetarian Way?
FREE LITERATURE ON APPLICATION TO
The Vegetarian Society,
57, Princess Street, Manchester, 2.

A boy of seventeen and a girl of sixteen have got to get married next week. That wouldn't happen so often if they didn't roam the streets after dark. When people build flats like these they should build some big club rooms too.

We get a lot of different folk round our block. They come from the Church. Some of them are all right, but some of them don't talk sense. Annie started to talk to one woman about birth control. It was on my balcony and we all heard. The woman didn't approve and she recited a bit out of the Bible about children being a blessing. That sort of thing is no use. They need to know about birth control here more than they need to know about anything.

J. L.

**Other Women's
Jobs-6**

A Farmer's Wife

OURS is a small farm and it wouldn't keep us if the girls didn't go into the town to work at the factory. Before they were old enough to earn anything we had a hard struggle to keep going.

We only keep one cow now. We depend mostly on our eggs. As my husband is seldom well enough to do much of the hard work there's a lot for me and my mother to do. We have a man to help us. He was wounded in the head in the War and he has never been quite right since then. He works hard, but you have to tell him exactly what he has to do. You can't go away and leave things to him.

Three of our fields are on the other side of the road and some way from the house, and it's a cold, dark walk in the winter.

BUSIEST TIME

The busiest time of all is in early spring when we have the foster-mother to keep alight to hatch out the young chicks. There's no chance then of an afternoon in town or an evening at the pictures.

I go into town three times a week with the eggs. We have a few customers from the bigger houses in the town who buy fowls at the weekend.

SOMETHING REAL

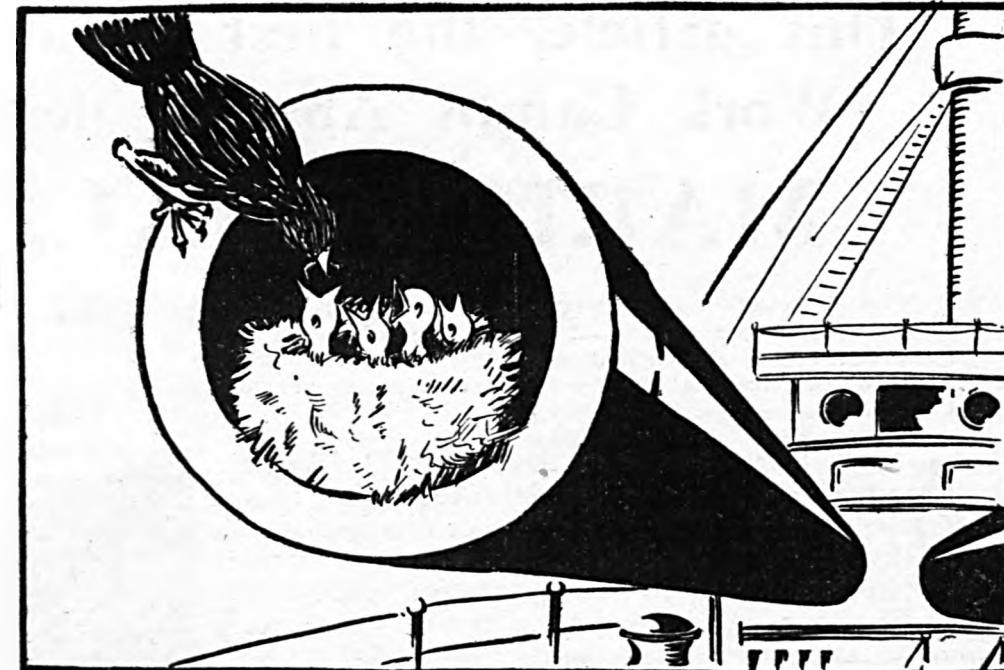
We keep pigs in the field behind the house, and we have the kitchen garden there. We don't grow to sell but keep ourselves and supply a few people we know personally.

I could get a job in the factory in town, but I wouldn't have it. There's something real about the work you do on a farm even if it's only a scrap of a farm like ours.

**QUAKER PEACE
PUBLICATIONS**

The fact that "war preparations imply an enemy" is the lesson contained on the latest poster issued by the Friends Peace Committee (Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1), and Northern Friends Peace Board (Spring Bank, Rawdon, Leeds.) It also asks—"Are you a Christian? Do you love your enemies?"

The policy of the Friends Peace Committee in joining with the Northern Friends Peace Board in the publication of posters and pamphlets was adopted last year, and the Peace Committee's Report for 1937-38 shows how the joint publications have carried different aspects of Quaker testimony on peace to the public. The report also records much activity for peace through other channels than propaganda.



COLLECTIVE SECURITY 1938

Drawn by Littlewood Moore

Education—Not Propaganda

Two addresses delivered in the United States at a luncheon meeting on "The School Child and his education for Peace," though given well over a year ago, are still exerting a wide influence. A pamphlet containing the principal addresses is in great demand. Following are striking passages from the addresses of Dr. Frank Aydelotte and Dr. John L. Tildsley.

Dr. Frank Aydelotte

WE must teach our children that science has made the world small, that we must all live together in it, that we must devise and loyally support institutions of international government, that the best interests of every nation lie in the welfare of every other, that economic or political destruction of one people is a calamity to all.

The role of education is not propaganda; it is not to teach children some ready-made solution; it is rather to give them some realization of the complexity and importance of the problem and to inculcate in them those attitudes which will prompt them to do their part, whether as leaders or followers, toward its solution.

It is the problem of understanding this new world in which we live and of infusing into that understanding a spirit of fair play and good will. So considered, the training of our citizens for peace will use the methods, not of partisan propaganda, but of liberal education.

Aim at peace alone and you will never achieve it; aim at the rule of law and justice between all nations, direct your efforts to that end, plan your institutions for that purpose, pay the necessary price of submission to law and to reason, and on top of many other blessings you will have peace.

Dr. John L. Tildsley

I would imbue all school children:

1. Not with the idea that fighting is morally wrong as, to my sorrow, I was taught but that it never has and never can decide what is right or who is right but merely who is the stronger or the more skilful or the more fortunate. If two boys wish to fight, I would say to them, *Fight if that is your favourite form of amusement, but do not deceive yourselves in believing for an instant that the winner is by this process proved to be right*;

2. I would further imbue them with the concept, and make it an inseparable part of their very being, that there is always in this day and generation a way other than fighting for settling differences of opinion between two persons or between two nations.

The essence of peace education in the school, as I view it, is convincing young people that war is such an outworn and, I say it deliberately, such a really idiotic method of settling differences of opinion that

no peoples in their senses will resort to it.

This will involve building in their minds the conviction, based on facts presented, that wars have been so destructive in the past and will be so vastly more destructive in the future of life, of resources, of civilization itself that no nation can emerge a winner. There can be only losers.

I would have them realize that in every crisis preceding hostilities there must have been in the past, there is now, and there will be in the future a better way, a possible way, of resolving the issue than war with its soul-destroying outcomes.

This is not a task for one day a year known as Peace Day. It is not a task for the orator on set occasions. It is a task for every school day as it comes naturally in the day's work, this task of teaching the truth about the forces that move men to action and make us as a people what we are.

The final bulwark against war hysteria is the courageous man, thinking. Such men the school can produce. To the extent it sends forth such men it will solve the problem of peace in our day, while at the same time it will achieve the highest end of any and all teaching.

CAMPAIGN FOR ECONOMIC REFORM

Impressed by the importance of economic factors in the solution of the problem of peace, the committee and members of the Economic Reform Club of 26 Grosvenor Place, London, S.W.1, have inaugurated an educational campaign for the purpose of creating an instructed public opinion.

A campaign committee has issued a manifesto which surveys the anomalies of the present economic situation and goes on to declare:

That industrialized countries today can supply sufficient commodities and services to ensure to all the material conditions for a healthy and happy childhood, the development of the individual faculties, and an adult life free from the fear of want;

That the inability to achieve these essential conditions is a fruitful cause of war; and

That the main obstacle to securing them is the failure of our monetary system to adapt itself to the productive capacity of modern science and machinery.

**Read the
Socialist Case against
WAR
Every Week in
"FORWARD"**

EVERY FRIDAY — TWOPENCE

Send a postcard for free specimen copy to:

"Forward" Office, 26, Civic Street, Port Dundas, Glasgow.

London Office: Gray's Inn Road, London.

This article, the first of a short series on Work Camps Abroad, describes that at MARIENTHAL, Austria

Though recent events in Austria have made doubtful the future of the work described below, this description of a practical effort in reconciliation is offered as an example of what can be done to create a peace mind on the Continent.

ABOUT twelve miles to the south-east of Vienna, where the plains of the Danube Valley sprawl out toward the Hungarian border, lies Marienthal, an Austrian village in which, during one or more of their summer holidays in the past three years, nearly 200 English people have spent some weeks at the very prosaic task of digging allotments.

That we should travel some 700 miles to dig Austrian allotments when there are plenty of English allotments to be dug has been the cause of some criticism, and we can only plead in reply that the present situation of international misunderstanding demands that peace-makers should take every chance of giving personal service to members of countries which have cause for enmity against our own.

Desperate Need

MARIENTHAL was chosen because of its desperate need. Its square blocks of grey houses sprang up around a spinning factory which employed nearly 2,000 workers from the village and its neighbourhood. The factory was the very life of the village, for everyone depended on it; and when, in 1929, the slump combined with the chaotic state of Austria's post-war economics to bring about the closing of the factory, the life-stream of Marienthal was stopped.

The broken windows, the swallows nesting in the manager's palatial dwelling, the machinery rusting or sold for scrap iron, became the symbols of the decaying spirit in the people of the village.

The Government "dole" was pitifully small and, in the case of a man under 25, was reduced to nothing after twelve weeks.

One who knew the life of Marienthal intimately said that the average expenditure on food was 8s. 6d. per family per week.

A visitor remarked upon the lack of cats and dogs in the village—we were left to draw our own conclusions about what had become of them.

Through a suggestion of C. F. Andrews and the active work of John S. Hoyland and the Vienna Quaker Group, it was decided to have a "work camp" at Marienthal, and in the summer of 1935, 68 workers went out from England.

Government Favourable

THE Austrian Government was surprisingly favourable, and agreed to recognize the scheme as a Government Voluntary Labour Camp, giving grants which solved much of the financial difficulty.

The two huts of the former Workers' Club were procured as camp headquarters (a photo appeared in PEACE NEWS of March 12), one becoming the men's sleeping quarters, the other a dining and living-room. The girls slept with families in the village and thus had valuable contacts with the village life.

The object of the camp was twofold—to bring back life into spirits deadened by six years of unemployment, and to ensure some fairly certain supply of food to meet Marienthal's desperate poverty.

Peasants not so Keen

FOR some time, however, progress was held up by the difficulty of obtaining land for allotments. The peasant farmers of the neighbouring village, Gramat Neusiedle, owned most of the surrounding fields, and were not at all keen that Marienthal workers should take to the land, and even the people of Marienthal were not over-friendly, probably because they had understood (mistakenly) that an English firm had been responsible for closing their factory.

So the first few weeks were spent in improving the common pasture land, in



"Deepening and straightening a section of the river."

deepening and straightening a section of the river, and in attempting to make a children's paddling pool. Then at last the municipality of Gramat Neusiedle was persuaded to rent us a field of roughly two acres, and the real work of the camp was begun.

High Standard of Work

FOR the few weeks that remained, our English volunteers, together with the twenty Austrians who had been invited to join the scheme, put in 42 hours a week of hard allotment digging, and many a back was stiff and many a hand blistered in the cause of peace at Marienthal in 1935.

The sun in Austria can get unpleasantly hot, and shirts removed at 8 a.m. (or as early as 6.15 a.m. in the following years) often had to be replaced for protection by 10 a.m. The Austrians were not the only ones to take advantage of the heat as an excuse to fetch drinks of water!

But on the whole there was a feeling that voluntary work must be good

work, and the standard maintained throughout the scheme has been high.

The girls had a choice of employment, according to ability and inclination. Some would join the men at the digging or hoeing, where they set a standard of hard effort which kept the men up to scratch; some were claimed by Frau Krammer, our kindly and efficient cook, and helped her to produce the magnificent concoctions which greeted us on our return from the fields; some helped with the (very essential) washing days; and some did excellent pioneer work in Marienthal homes, scrubbing floors for disabled housewives or minding the children of those who had to be away from home.

Grants Withdrawn

SIMILAR camps were held at Marienthal in the summers of 1936 and 1937, with about sixty volunteers in each case, the chief difference being that, owing to the reintroduction of military service, Government grants were withdrawn and working hours consequently reduced to thirty hours per week, with little loss of efficiency, but with the

great advantage that more time was left for valuable social contact with the Austrians.

On any typical afternoon one might see Karl and Harry deeply engrossed over the chess-board; Franz and Jack at a hard game of table tennis; Hans, Oskar, Ellen and Tom at a mutual language lesson; and a small group of the best linguists in a cautious discussion of the difficulties of Austria; while little groups here and there would be working up folk dances or musical items for the evening sing-songs. And, of course, almost every fortnight had its grand England versus Austria football match on the Sportplatz, where a crowd of local football fans cheered English goals far more loudly than Austrian ones.

Our weekends were spent in seeing the sights of Vienna, in going on an expedition to Laxenburg Palace, or in climbing the Rax or the Schneeberg. The natural beauties of Austria seem to make it all the harder that man cannot live at peace among them and enjoy to the full the mountain-peaks and the pine-covered slopes.

Help was Needed

WE did not go to Marienthal to win our security but because Marienthal needed our help. Yet for the sake of those "hard-headed realists" who dare not trust in ideals, it may be pointed out that in our three years we have spent on the camp approximately £1 per head of Marienthal's population (2,400) and we can say with fair confidence that Marienthalers would think many times before attacking or even offending a disarmed England.

In those three years our Government has spent nearly £600,000.000 on armaments, presumably to keep the 200,000,000 people of Japan, Germany, and Italy from attacking or offending us; and even now we don't feel safe. It looks as if peace-making through service is not only more effective but also distinctly cheaper.

We do not know yet if the new government in Austria will want or allow us to continue the work, but we hope to arrange a work camp of some kind on the Continent this summer, at Marienthal or elsewhere.

Any inquiries or donations should be sent to the writer at 16, Upper Long Leys Road, Lincoln.

OWEN R. PAGE

A Pacifist Learns to be an Air Warden

WE occupied a classroom in a school for the first lecture. It was crowded, mostly with men, and there was an overflow into the corridor outside. A few of those present were ex-service men, who seemed anxious to show everybody else that they knew a good deal already!

There were two lecturers. The first was the local St. John Ambulance chief, a plain-speaking, agreeable man, who gave the impression of straightforward sincerity and businesslike purpose.

He first dealt with some of the well-known objections to ARP, and gave it as his opinion that ARP did not create war-mindedness any more than St. John Ambulance work made people more prone to accidents. He deeply regretted the necessity for ARP and hoped it would never be necessary to make use of the knowledge imparted. People thought it a waste of time to prepare ARP plans in peace-time, but he thought it was dangerous to wait until war was actually on top of us, or suffering would be very great.

HE regarded gas as the least of war perils and the easiest to deal with; the course would first deal with the gas peril only because it was the easiest to contend with. The "more difficult matters" would come later.

He was convinced that gas as a weapon would not be thought worth while against a population prepared to deal with it. Its worst feature would be its hampering of the work of first-aid parties and fire brigade and rescue squads in the streets.

The chief friends of gas were panic and ignorance, and it would be our job to see that these were made non-

BELIEVING it is possible to take part in air raid precautions as a humanitarian service, and at the same time to retain his pacifist attitude to war—as well as to express that attitude—a London member of the Peace Pledge Union has enrolled for ARP training.

This account was written after he had attended the first of the preliminary course of six lectures. We hope later to publish accounts of his subsequent experiences.

existent. Ninety-six percent of gas casualties in the last war, he added, recovered without permanent ill-effects, and it was likely that eighty percent of gas casualties in another war would arise from panic.

The greatest dangers were connected with high explosive and incendiary bombs, but as these were familiar to most people and gas was something new and strange, the latter weapon aroused most horror.

He then went into the types of gases likely to be used and their effects on the human body. This gave me nightmares after I got home, although the second lecturer of the evening tried hard to tone it down and make it appear that, with the aid of gas masks, protective clothing, and organized decontamination, all would be comparatively well.

All the time I kept thinking of the havoc the explosive and incendiary bombs would cause before the gas squads would be called on to work—if, indeed, they would be able to work.

However, I was there to take the course and I gritted my teeth to stick the thing out.

ONE important point must be noted: the lecturers invited questions, and gave the impression of wanting to counter published criticism of ARP lectures on this score. I must say they answered questions as conscientiously as they were able.

We were promised experience of a gas chamber (containing a form of tear gas) at the end of the course, and were told we should be given the choice of civilian or service gas masks.

As the lecturer insisted that the civilian type was efficient, I asked why there was a difference in price between the two. I was told that I would understand the reason when I saw the masks, but that I could rest assured the civilian mask was effective, in combination with protective clothing against all gases likely to be used.

Carbon monoxide got through gas masks, it was stated; when I pointed out that large quantities of this deadly gas would be released when gas mains were damaged by high-explosive bombs, the reply was that the gas would ignite and it would be fire that would have to be dealt with.

After the lecture, I vigorously stated my view to several prospective air raid wardens that it was abominable and highly unchristian that our government should prepare to use the same vile things we had heard about that evening.

I was listened to with some respect and some uneasiness, but I was told eventually I was too idealistic and had to face facts.

I shall, however, continue to state my views when the occasion presents itself.

Speaking Personally

Fossils: Old and New

I SUPPOSE most pacifists have become pacifists from the moral standpoint. As they come to realize the full horror and beastliness and degradation of conduct in which war lands us, they refuse to believe such methods can be a necessity for reasonable human beings, and further, that unreason meeting unreason on its own terms is not, and never can be, a solution of any problem.

Those who are not pacifists start from what is called the "practical" point of view—war is unavoidable, and therefore a necessity, and being a necessity, however horrible, it is not wrong. If only they could realize that war is not a necessity, their eyes would become more open to the abomination.

Now as against war being a necessity, writers and speakers for the peace movement maintain that pacifism is the more real necessity; that it has become a biological necessity for the preservation of the human race from destruction.

It is no use for man to flatter himself that he is not liable to become a misfit if he cannot adapt himself to changing conditions, as has happened with other forms of life of far greater physical strength, but with less brain and adaptability.

We talk of people with fixed and anti-

quated ideas as old fossils, but it is quite possible that the human race is preparing to become collectively an old fossil, if it insists on believing that physical power, unintelligently directed, is going to save it from extinction, any more than it saved the great prehistoric animals, which failed to adapt themselves to the conditions of a changing world. Like all other forms of life, those creatures, at one time "predominant powers," had instinct to help them, but instinct was not enough.

Man also has a considerable amount of instinct still left to his service. It has been passed on to him by prehistoric man; but that instinct has been very largely overlaid, for better or for worse, by his power of choice, and of judgment on the result of his actions. Man's reasoning powers, in lifting him above instinct, have laid him open to the added danger of deciding wrong, and of becoming extinct, not by inability, but by unwillingness to adapt himself to conditions, and to make a right choice of the course which he means to follow.

★ ★

THE growing muddle in which the civilized world finds itself makes one question whether, in facing the complexities of civilized life, man has made a right judgment of what his

aim should be, and of the right way to reach it.

It is surely a significant fact in the history of the human race that far more wrong and injustice and cruelty and suffering have been brought about through man doing what he believed to be right, than by his doing what he knew to be wrong.

The religious wars of the Middle Ages (leaving out others)—wars to which, because they had a religious object (the object of imposing conversion or religious conformity), the Church gave its blessing; all the judicial torture which the Church approved, definitely declaring that torture was no crime, all the degradation and cruelty of slavery which the Church countenanced; all the injustice and waste of good human material, embodied in the social system—were done by man believing that he was right. Law and tradition (with the Church to help) cleared his conscience; because the law ordained and the Church acquiesced, what the individual conscience revolts against today, the communal conscience accepted and approved.

That, broadly, is the record of a vast mass of wrong-doings in the past, of which we have now (intellectually at any rate), repented—mainly, perhaps, not because they were wrong, but because they proved poor or useless in their results.

In spite, therefore, of having perpetrated a whole series of social and moral blunders in the past, we have had the wit to discard them; and in many cases the imaginary principle underlying them has not merely been modified; it has been reversed.

Yet though the verdict against them is now definite and irrevocable in any

directing minds had committed themselves to a fundamentally wrong aim, in a direction away from true religion and true justice, and that persistence in mediæval savagery (had man not had the wisdom and the adaptability of mind to turn from it) would have led steadily to worse and worse results in Church and State?

The wrong course then taken would appear to have been due mainly to a fear lest the granting of liberty should lead to licence; and that fear was always most prominent, and guarded itself most ferociously, in forms of society where inequality was the distinguishing mark, where privilege went with power, and where wealth and position secured to themselves disproportionate rewards for their services to the community.

If that, then, was the underlying reason why liberty was feared, and law and authority drastic and savage in operation, is it not reasonable to hold that the removal of privilege, favouritism, and inequality will leave less and less reason for liberty to be feared, or for compulsion to be exercised?

And does it not all point to the truth that Christ's teaching of one's duty toward one's neighbour—to do to him as we would he should do to us, is the true foundation for the good society—that it is (as he declared it to be) "the law and the prophets"—the only wise politics, and the only right religion; and that why the rulers of men have gone so persistently wrong, doing horrible things believing them to be right, is that they have set the will to power above the will to serve?

In the world today, we see that will to power, not in the dictator countries only, but in the British Empire also (by its refusal to become the will to serve, socially and internationally applied) threatening us with world destruction. Are the sovereign nations, in their blind self-favouritism, bent upon proving humanity a misfit in the process of evolution? Is the worship of power as man's main end to bring all civilization to ruin?

★ ★

MAN is an experimenting being. He is finding his way into ways untried by any form of life before him. It is therefore natural and human for man to make mistakes; but it is sub-human and antediluvian for man to persist in making mistakes when he sees that they produce bad results.

Persistence in mistakes which have bad results must either mean that he is mistakenly choosing the wrong means to get to a right end, or that he is definitely aiming for a wrong end, which can bring him to no good.

And if, misusing his power of judgment, he persists in actions which produce bad results, or progressively less and less good results under changing conditions, he is surely qualifying to become an old fossil just like the ichthyosaurus and the megalosaurus, or any of those other prehistoric creatures with long names, but with lives shortened because they had not the power to adapt themselves to change of circumstance. And if he persists in saying that he "cannot help it" (as he is saying about war) his number is already called, and it is a back one.

Help to make it 350

The number of public libraries showing PEACE NEWS has now reached 348. Additions to such libraries since the list we published on June 4, are at

Ashford
Dun-Laoghaire
(Kingstown, Co. Dublin)
Kettering
Stamford

Final article in the series by Lawrence Housman

will be the next writer under the heading

"Speaking Personally."

His first article will appear

NEXT WEEK

form of society which believes in liberty and freedom of opinion as the right course for human evolution, there were always those who resisted the necessary modification or reversal, maintaining that such things were necessary for the control and governance of human nature, and that from their removal ruin would result.

These resisters we now regard as old fossils. Yet it is significant that the old fossils were pre-eminently the experts, and the trained minds holding authority.

It was the theologians and the ecclesiastical authorities who insisted most on religious persecution and enforced conformity; it was the judges who resisted the humanizing of our savage penal code, which imposed the death penalty for over a hundred different offences, and by their weight twice, in the House of Lords, defeated the proposed reform.

It would almost seem that positions of power and authority have a special tendency to make even men of intellect stupid and reactionary in their dealings with human nature.

NOW if in relation to such aids to good living as the Christian religion and the administration of Justice, the highly-placed went so egregiously wrong, not merely against good morals, but against sound common sense, must not the reason be that those

The Rev. HENRY CARTER says

A.R.P. is Not the Vital Issue

If war comes—

we shall all want to help our neighbours and each will decide for himself the best way.

BUT why should war come?

Better than regarding war as inevitable is to attack the roots of war and prevent it coming.

WAR springs from unredressed grievances

and there is one grievance common to all nations. It is poverty and hunger.

HUNGER and discontent give dictators their chance.

As President Roosevelt said: "Democracy has disappeared from several great nations, not because they disliked democracy, but because they tired of unemployment and insecurity."

DICTATORSHIPS militarize nations and threaten war.

The right policy is to grapple with the causes of conflict and thus avert war.

★

THE causes of conflict — what are they?

ONE main cause is economic hostility, nation against nation.

Tariffs, quotas, and currencies are the weapons. The movement of foodstuffs and raw materials from country to country is deliberately impeded in this way. The peoples suffer. Their standard of living falls.

ECONOMIC hostility quickens war preparations.

The mad race in armaments, which may become an active cause of war, is intensified.

THERE is a deeper cause of mischief under the surface.

This is self-centred nationalism

THE road to peace is through economic cooperation, nation with nation. We must end economic hostilities if we want world peace.

The Governments of Britain and France asked M. van Zeeland, the ex-Premier of Belgium, to prepare a report on economic appeasement.

His report recommends a Pact of International Economic Collaboration, and suggests necessary steps to lead to such a pact, which would be ratified at a world conference.

THIS is practical politics

It would better the life conditions of multitudes of working folk in many countries. It would open a way for disarmament. It would express the truth that nations, like individuals, are members one of another.

★

WHAT shall we do, then?

1. REJECT WAR

War is wholesale murder. Why should we kill our fellow-men just because they are citizens of another nation?

2. SEE THROUGH A.R.P.

ARP trains people to believe that war must come. War need not come.

3. TAKE THE OTHER ROAD

Demand that our Government concentrates on war-prevention on the lines of the Van Zeeland Report.

The hungry man and his family, in every nation, should be the chief concern of us all.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post-card:-

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

June 18, 1938

National Unity: Labour's Duty

IT has long been represented that this country is united in the policy of rearmament—or, as it is time it was called, of militarization of the nation. It is true that the comparatively slight, almost "ideological," difference of opinion as to our foreign policy has been recognized by those most anxious to present a picture of national unity. But so long ago as May 25 *The Times* had discovered that even that did not greatly mar the picture "because all sides now recognize effective rearmament to be essential to any foreign policy." Which it followed up next day with:

Indeed the most startling evidence of the fundamental unity about the future, which the PRIME MINISTER rightly invited by the unprovocative tone of his speech, was the selection of SIR STAFFORD Cripps, once the storm opponent of arms for anyone except a Socialist Government, to second the Labour case for swifter and more efficient rearmament.

What more could the advocates of national unity (for war preparation) want? Mainly, if not only, at the moment, they want national unity in form as well as in effect. While there are important people or representatives of large sections of public opinion who are not definitely under an obligation to support the Government's policy they remain free to carry on those sniping operations which can be so much more obstructive of the process of militarization than can full and frank opposition in the face of an almost unanimous public opinion.

Thus, an unnecessarily long report of MR. EDEN's speech to his constituents on Saturday, with "Our free tradition" and "Need of gigantic national effort" as the points picked out for headlines, enables *The Times* to demonstrate that "there is a conscious or unconscious groping after some basis for a wider measure of national unity."

In its first leading article on Monday, the same paper pursued the point, asking "whether the breach is really so wide as it seems." Its conclusion was expressed in terms that smacked of the formula, designed to meet both points of view, on which official collaboration between the Government, on the one hand, and Labour, MR. EDEN, and his "fans," on the other, might be established. "It is clear," alleged *The Times*, that support will always be forthcoming in foreign affairs for a policy of conciliation based on strength, but not for a policy of surrender based on weakness; for making all reasonable concessions provided that good faith is met by good faith, but not for turning a blind eye to bullying, provocation, and procrastination. In home affairs it is safe to say that public opinion would certainly favour any policy, however drastic, which it was convinced was necessary for the fullest organization of national defence, and for the preservation of a magnificent system of social services.

This hint of a "stiffer" attitude to dictators is likely to prove tempting to a Labour movement which goes so far along the path as to outdo the Government in its demands for efficient armament. But the concluding sentence reaches such a height of audacity that it should be sufficient to shock the whole Labour movement right off its compla-

LET BRITAIN LEAD IN REMOVING The Fundamental Cause of War

by



Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P.

about "settling down to live on home production," but what about the countries with a poor soil, with few or no natural resources, with no colonies and with large and expanding populations?

For example, Italy can only produce from her own territory half a million tons of coal per year. She needs a minimum of 12½ million tons to keep her industries going.

How can she "settle down" and be satisfied with "home production"? How can an industrial nation with no iron ore, no nickel, tin, copper, lead, zinc, oil, rubber, cotton, or wool continue to live on the system which the Under-Secretary so smugly envisaged?

The American Banking Commission which reported on this particular problem last year, stated that if Germany did not spend one cent on militarism or armaments, if she had no army, no navy, no air force, she could not exist for many years as an independent entity if international economic conditions continued as at present. She could not obtain vitally needed foodstuffs and raw materials from abroad because she could not obtain the necessary foreign currency, and she could not obtain the foreign currency because she could not sell her goods. She could not sell her products because more than half the world's potential markets were deliberately closed to her by tariffs, quotas, prohibitions and other obstacles to trade.

THE actual causes of international friction and unrest today at bottom are economic, or to be more precise, politico-economic. Our friends who are so eager about "collective security," about building up a bloc of "peaceful" nations that can offer overwhelming coercive force against an aggressor, are concerned primarily not with origins but with results.

The pacifist on the other hand is anxious to remedy the real causes of possible breaches of the peace. What is the reason why masses of decent, peaceable people in other nations (no different in essence from ourselves) should be willing to support threats of war and intensive preparations for war?

The answer is to be found, not in the hypnotism or compulsion which some wicked dictator inspires in them, but in a fear that their very life as a nation and as individuals is threatened by their helpless, have-not position in the economic world.

There is no reason for a continuance of their or our present impoverishment. No-one can dispute that there is enough and to spare for all, that illimitable natural riches are yet untapped, that man's power over nature, his scientific knowledge and his inventive genius can provide what Mr. Oliver Stanley called "unbelievable prosperity" for everybody on the whole wide earth if —.

If only men will cooperate and share the abundance God has vouchsafed to his children instead of competing and fighting for scraps or trying to monopolize all natural wealth for themselves alone.

THEN came an astonishing confession:

It may be that we are going to live in a world which will settle down more and more to relying on home production for the most part, and otherwise will have its international trade strictly confined to narrow political channels instead of flowing freely. HM Government may not be able to prevent this and no-one can say it will not occur.

If that is the last word of Britain on the matter this means that another world war is inevitable. Said the Secretary of State for the USA some time ago. "When the channels of international trade are blocked sooner or later soldiers are used to open them."

It is all very well for a rich country, with tremendous overseas possessions, able to draw tribute in the form of food supplies and raw materials from all over the globe, to talk in this flippant way

LOOK at the absurdity as well as the tragedy of the situation: America is in the throes of a great depression. The USA has an absolutely record wheat crop this year—the greatest ever known—and a record cotton crop. Thanks to the Almighty for his benevolent providence? Not a bit of it. Terror and consternation because prices will slump and everybody will be ruined!

Let every true pacifist urge that Britain shall initiate a new world economic conference to settle the problem on the lines of plain justice and simple common sense.

Let our nation have the honour in history of making the first offer, the first sacrifice, for world peace by helping to remove the fundamental cause of war.

Anti-War Centre for French Workers

THOUSANDS BACK PACIFISTS' MOVES

LESS than two months after the launching of a manifesto by a number of French trade unionists, calling on the rank and file to resist war moves, a trade union centre for action against war—as was outlined in the manifesto—has been formed.

Already the original signatories of the manifesto have secured the support of some 5,000 trade unionists.

A two-day national conference recently held in Paris was attended by 158 delegates. As well as deciding to set up the centre for anti-war action, this conference laid plans for recruiting further members among trade unionists, and for a propaganda campaign. For the latter purpose a national committee was formed.

WEAPON OF WORKERS

A manifesto, setting out the reasons for the formation of the centre, and the pacifist position taken by its members, was adopted with only four dissentients.

M. Juin, of Paris, one of those whose initiative has led to the formation of the centre, warned the conference against stopping at the stage of protests, instead of going forward to action.

The weapon of the workers, he said, was the general strike. It must be put in their hands in place of the gun—the weapon offered them by the warmongers.

FASCIST FLAGS REMOVED FROM “PEACE GARDEN”

Following a protest by Glasgow Trades Council, small German, Italian and Japanese flags were removed from the “Garden of the Good Neighbours” behind the Peace Pavilion at the Glasgow Empire Exhibition.

The garden is a replica of one of the same name on the frontier between Canada and the United States, and there is a peace cairn to which Scottish peace societies have contributed stones.

The trades council declared that the three countries in question had violated international law and order, treated the League with contempt, and refused to enter into negotiations for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

It is understood that in future emblems only of those countries favourable to collective security and the League will appear in the garden.

The Italian press expressed shock surprise at the incident, which the *Tribuna* declared was “fully in keeping with the sectarian spirit of certain Labour people.”

(Later message on page 15.)

Oath to State from German Catholics?

Will the demand for an oath to the German State be extended to Catholics? This question is being asked now that the oath is being taken by Protestant clergy in a form amended to meet the objections they originally raised.

Dr. Werner, State-appointed head of the Evangelical Church, justified the demand for an oath on the ground that as that Church was recognized by the State as a public body it must assume the duties of such a body. Although there is no official position corresponding to Dr. Werner's in the Catholic Church, that Church is also recognized as a legal public body.

Accordingly the Nazis may appoint a State controller for the Catholic Church and demand that its members take a similar oath of allegiance.

PACIFIST'S GOOD CHANCE IN GLASGOW ELECTION

No Opponent Yet for Dick Sheppard's Successor

From Our Own Correspondent

ANDREW STEWART

THE close of the session at Glasgow University finds the ranks of the anti-pacifist forces completely disorganized.

This time last year there were already four candidates in the field for the Rectorial election. It was some three months later that the bombshell was dropped in the form of the candidature of Dick Sheppard.

Today there is only one candidate adopted and announced: the Rev. George F. Macleod, of Govan, Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union, and pacifist standard-bearer.

None of the political clubs have been able to agree on the choice of candidates who would stand a ghost of a chance against Dr. Macleod, who is widely known and respected in Scotland, and who is by far the most popular local speaker in the Union.

ANTI-PACIFIST “FRONT” FAILS

However, the “enemy” has not been wholly idle.

There have been several attempts in the last few weeks to form anti-pacifist coalitions. All have proved abortive.

The first of these was an attempt by the Tory Club to secure general support for a man who “on his personal merit would be acceptable to all the other parties.” A meeting was held at which the Tories suggested Mr. Eden as such a man, but the other clubs were not so easily convinced.

The Nationalists and the Liberals then put forward alternative nominations, but no agreement could be found on these either.

The truth was, of course, that while all were agreed that only a coalition could possibly defeat the pacifist candidate, all wanted their own particular party man to be the nominee.

The next move to thwart what is called the “pacifist menace” was an attempt by the Socialists and the League of Nations Unionists to put up a candidate on the collective security ticket, inviting the support of the other parties.

The Distributists dissented, because support of such a candidature would be in flagrant contradiction to their openly expressed sympathy with General Franco.

The Liberals were in a dilemma. One section of the club favoured the

adoption of the Marquis of Lothian, not, as one of them expressed it to me, “because he has a ghost of a chance, but because he might contribute enough to give us a decent Rectorial fund and enable us to pay off our debts.” (The Liberals are credibly reported to be in debt to the extent of over £150.)

Actuated by less mercenary motives was the other section of the club, which, while all for collective security, was adamant that the candidate should be a good Liberal, their choice being Sir Archibald Sinclair.

NATIONALISTS TURN PACIFIST

The difficulty here is that Sir Archibald has already stood as a candidate in a Rectorial election at Glasgow—in 1934, when he was a miserable fourth in a field of five.

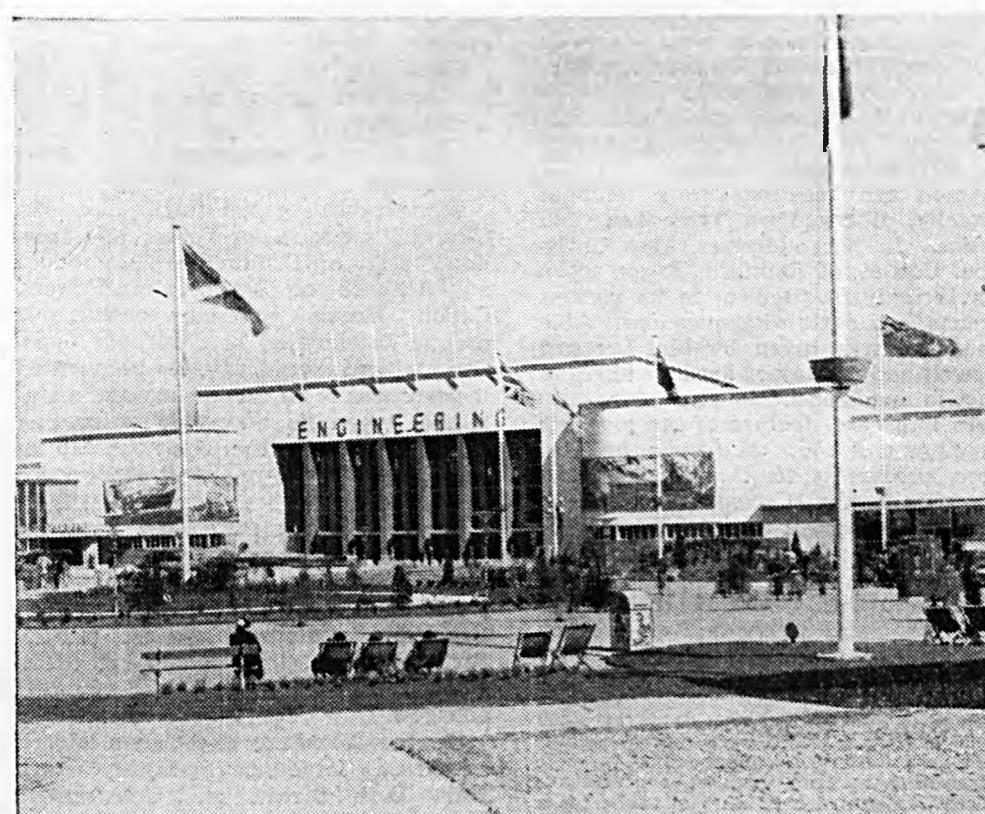
The Nationalists, who until the founding of the PPU branch at the University, were the most active campaigners for their cause, have been rendered practically impotent by the defection of half of their committee into the ranks of the PPU.

The “renegades” are the present president and two former presidents. One of them, Mr. E. G. S. Trail, moved the pacifist motion at the recent Scottish Nationalist Conference at Glasgow.

The latest move is a suggested alliance between the remnants of the Nationalists and the Distributists to nominate Mr. De Valera as a Nationalist candidate similar to Professor Macneile Dixon at the last Rectorial.

There is no fear that this coalition, even if it comes off, will fare any better than the last unholy alliance between the Scottish Nationalists, the Liberals, and the Distributists.

In short, the signs are at present that Dick Sheppard's vacant chair will be worthily filled in October, and that pacifism will make the headlines again.



The palace of the engineering industry at the Glasgow Empire Exhibition.

“Freedom” Within the Empire

The British Empire today means that nearly 500,000,000 are enjoying liberty, freedom, and justice as we at home understand these things.

—From a letter in *The Times*.

THIS particularly improbable, incredible, and odious thing, disfranchisement of the natives in the form of their removal from the common voters' roll, this destruction of equal rights for all civilized men, is exactly what happened in 1936. It happened, too, without a murmur of protest from Britain or the faintest indication that its happening might affect the transfer of the Protectorates.

Now Britain intends to subject another million Africans to the tender mercies of the South African Government.

—From article on “Trusteeship at work” in *Empire*, June, 1938.

IMPERIAL BURDEN ON INDIA

No Security Under Britain

“WITHIN the British Commonwealth of Nations,” asserted the British Indian newspaper, *The Statesman*, recently, “India has an assured prospect of liberty and progress; outside it, isolated in a world where militarism is rampant and ruthless aggression practised against weak nations almost with impunity, her unity and her independence would hardly survive.”

The assumption that India needs British rule as a bulwark against aggression is answered by Jawaharlal Nehru, former President of the Indian Congress, in the current issue of *Empire*. After showing that a free India would not be so liable to attack as is sometimes supposed, he writes:

India will not go as a gift to anybody. She will resist the invader to the utmost and, in spite of lack of military and such-like resources, she has developed enough strength and technique of her own method of struggle to make an invasion a terribly burdensome operation.

We have to struggle today with an entrenched system which has dug itself deep into our very soil. It will be far easier to deal with a newcomer who comes with hostile intentions.

India's own method of struggle—that of non-violence—would not involve a financial burden like that imposed by the present military machine.

Nearly half of the total revenue goes on the Indian Army Budget, which amounts to £33,885,000. Indians have no control over this expenditure.

Formerly an item of £30,000 for clerks' wages, included in the total, was subject to the vote of the Legislative Assembly. Under the new Constitution, however, even this small item is non-votable.

(Other details of what India pays—Pars for the Platform, page fourteen.)

Please Order Your
PEACE NEWS
EARLY

NEWS from the FOUR CORNERS

HOME COUNTIES

Enfield

The astonishing growth of the PPU in this region during the last eight months was revealed by the secretary in his report to the second annual meeting. At the beginning of this period there were three groups; there are now eight.

The region now holds regular monthly rambles in the vicinity of Enfield, Waltham, and Cuffley, and the secretary, E. C. Byford, 32 Clive Road, Enfield, would be pleased to hear from anyone interested before the fifth day in the month.

Epsom

The Mayor and Corporation were present at a meeting in the Ebbisham Hall recently, called to stimulate interest in ARP. Free use of the hall had been granted by the Epsom Brotherhood, whose president, Mr. J. G. Beaumont, addressed the meeting.

Mr. Beaumont referred to a letter he had received from "my friends of the Peace Pledge Union," which pointed the inadequacy of ARP and condemned them as part of an extremely subtle propaganda to distract the attention of Christian and peace-loving citizens from the real objectives of the rearmament programme.

He said he had the greatest respect for their sincerity, but after careful thought he was unrepentant for having recommended the loan of the hall for the meeting. "No country is safe today from the mad dictators," he added, and concluded with an appeal for volunteers, who, he said, would be conscience-stricken if they heard enemy planes overhead and remembered that they had failed to respond to the call at that meeting.

On the previous evening, in the same hall, Canon Stuart Morris, Dr. D. A. Crow, and John Barclay had addressed a public meeting organized by the local PPU group. Reports of both meetings appeared side by side in the local press, and the ARP meeting was given slightly less space.

Wallington

An exhibition of ARP gadgets at fancy prices was recently held in the Public Hall. The territories, recognizing this as a good opportunity for a recruiting campaign in the favourable warmongering atmosphere created by the exhibition, parked a searchlight outside the Town Hall and another outside the Odeon Cinema which put on a territorial army recruiting film.

The local group, however, organized a campaign of leaflet distribution outside the exhibition and alongside the searchlights, and thousands of leaflets were distributed. Discussions were provoked on the pavements with members

Nearly
Half a Million
copies of the
P.P.U. Manifesto
have now been
sold

of the public, who in a great many cases were made aware for the first time of the constructive peace policy of the PPU.

LONDON

Peckham

Members distributed some four thousand leaflets and sold PEACE NEWS, besides forming some useful contacts with hopeful "yes-but's" outside a local Odeon Cinema, where a territorial film and searchlight display were being given recently.

Raynes Park and Wimbledon

Working as one unit, these groups' activities include a series of regular Sunday evening open air meetings which are being run in conjunction with Wimbledon Park, Southfields, Morden, Clapham, Streatham, Wandsworth, Battersea, Tooting and Balham, Herne Hill, and Richmond groups. So far six pitches have been found and it is hoped to get more later.

Other groups which would like to join

On Tour with the Publicity Van

ENTHUSIASM GREETS CAMPAIGN IN NORTH & WEST WALES

From Our Own Correspondents

ARRIVING in North Wales on the first day of June, the weather was all set to dampen the enthusiasm of the most ardent pacifist. As events proved, however, it takes more than rain to quench the fire of enthusiasm for peace in North Wales.

By the roadside at Arthog, about fifty people braved the elements to hear Richard Bishop make an eloquent plea for active participation in the work of the PPU. He was warmly supported by Mr. Williams, the Methodist minister, who spoke in the native tongue.

We moved on to Fairbourne, where still more enthusiasts, who had not heard of the PPU, took pledge cards and signed them. Further along still another meeting, packed into the chapel by Mr. Williams, at 9 p.m., listened intently to the message and took about fifty pledge cards.

Three meetings in five hours was a good start

CHANCE FOR WALES

Next day William Berry took up the stand in Dolgelly in the market-place and spoke on the possibility of bringing Wales to the position of the spearhead for peace in Britain. He pointed out that, as a nation within Great Britain, Wales had preserved all her wealth of culture and independence without an armaments programme.

Question-time brought some keen discussion, but opponents became so friendly as to invite the visitors to share their supper, which showed practical conversion.

Further meetings at Bethesda (where over 100 copies of PEACE NEWS were sold) and Trawsfynydd showed intense interest, and everywhere the people wished for further meetings and more enlightenment.

Everywhere the Welsh ministers took

Van Visits Tinplate Town

The Van's visit to Llanelli on Friday and Saturday of last week was a red-letter day in the history of the local group of the PPU. Llanelli, the centre of the tinplate trade in West Wales, is the largest town in Carmarthenshire, the largest county in Wales.

The visit attracted great attention, and drew forth many inquiries concerning PPU aims and methods.

About ten meetings were held at Llanelli, Burry Port, Trimsaran, and Bynea. In her addresses, Miss Christabel Cowles, of Romford, Essex, spoke convincingly on pacifism in its various aspects, and dealt with questions. Able assistance was given by Mr. Leonard Sidwell and a relay of local speakers in English and Welsh.

An important feature of the morning meetings was that they were held in close proximity to tinplate and stamping works. Crowds of men going to and from work listened intently to the pacifist message and accepted literature.

The record of Canon H. R. L. Shepard's address, which was given at every meeting, was very well received.

Members of the Llanelli PPU group distributed literature, thus making valuable contacts. During the two days, over 200 copies of PEACE NEWS were sold.

One enthusiastic worker accosted people travelling in cars, and on one of these occasions caused a hold-up of traffic for a few minutes.

Llanelli members have been considerably encouraged in their activities by the visit of the van, and will follow with interest its work throughout the summer months.

in this scheme, with or without pitches of their own, are assured of a hearty welcome.

MIDLANDS

Northampton

A weekend conference called to discuss "Civilization and Pacifism" will be held in the Friends' Meeting House, Wellington Street on September 17 and 18. Commencing at 3.30 p.m. on the Saturday, the conference will continue until 9 p.m. on Sunday. Mr. J. W. Berrill, 37, Hunter Street, Northampton will supply application forms which should be sent in not later than July 30.

NORTH EAST

Hull

Local members have decided to run weekly open air meetings. They have chosen a semi-circular area outside West Park, next to one of the town's busiest streets and every week so far they have succeeded in attracting a crowd of about thirty to fifty.

One week they were rained off so some members accepted an invitation to attend a conference organized by the LNU instead. According to one member they were "outnumbered and far from popular; some of the more exuberant spirits booed us when we voted against munitions for Spain."

But their evening was not wasted for they succeeded in having two riders calling for a world conference to remedy international grievances, and for the suspension of the British rearmament programme pending this, attached to the resolution embodying the LNU's new "four points."

Members followed this up by attending an ARP meeting addressed by a Corporation official. When the meeting started the audience consisted of two churchwardens, five members of the public, and nine pacifists. All questions "relating to policy" were ruled out of order, so members were reduced to bombarding the speaker with technical posers.

Scarborough

The group here now meets fortnightly instead of monthly, and, with a view to understanding the positive implications of pacifism, has considered at recent meetings first the Van Zeeland Report, and then the PPU Manifesto.

Members are now busy addressing and delivering from door to door thirteen thousand envelopes containing copies of the manifesto, and an invitation to the public to visit the peace shop now open there.

NORTH WEST

Burnley

Weather conditions were very unfavourable when the open air campaign was launched in the Market Place recently. Nevertheless, the response was such that the group has been encouraged to go ahead and another meeting was held at the same place on Thursday.

Penrith

The new group here has just held its second meeting. Special interest was shown in Mr. Barclay's proposal from headquarters to organize an employment service to help those pacifists who lose employment for conscientious reasons.

Plans are now under consideration for activities during the autumn and coming winter.

SCOTLAND

Edinburgh

While revealing the futility of Mr. Churchill's efforts for "peace and freedom," a strong Britain, the League and an Alliance of Democratic Powers, Canon Morris covered considerable ground in showing how entirely opposite methods would have to be adopted if peace was to be established and maintained, when he addressed a meeting last week under the chairmanship of J. D. MacLean, regional leader for Scotland.

Canon Morris stressed the need for getting at the causes and the symptoms, and outlined how the present fears would have to be removed. He warned the "time stretchers" against putting the matter off, they should set themselves a time-limit.

Glasgow

On the following day Canon Morris addressed a large meeting in the Central Hall, Bath Street, on "Constructive Pacifism." To beat fascism, he said, we were told to subject ourselves to the same disadvantages as those from which fascists suffered.

Busy Within the Churches

Pacifist activity within the churches is increasing.

The formation of many more local groups is reported by the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, which held its first public meeting in St. Pancras Town Hall recently.

Indicative of the response which members are meeting in their work is the fact that 5,000 copies of *The Church and War*, a pamphlet by Miss Evelyn Underhill, were sold in seven weeks.

The Fellowship is the newest of the peace societies within the churches. The older-established bodies also report encouraging activity. The Church of Scotland Peace Society held a highly successful public meeting in Edinburgh, in association with the Scottish Council of Christian Pacifist Groups.

HUNDREDS OF MEMBERS

The Christian Pacifist Crusade (Congregational) had, at the time of its annual meeting recently, 1,197 members and 21 groups. A membership of 184 was recorded by the Presbyterian Pacifist Group—no less than 48 of this total being ministers.

In the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, too, many of the 700 members are ministers. The Fellowship has strong groups in several places.

Contact with local bodies on the subject of ARP is to be an important part of the summer work of the Society of Catholic Friends.

Under the Oak Tree

By CECILIA GURICH

(on behalf of the Basque Fund)

THE children always find an excuse to stop the progress of classes. Some of them are sure that English school children have at least two Whitsun holidays. They had the idea of uniting Whitsun holidays with the anniversary of their arrival at Basque House, which fell on Wednesday, June 8.

Somebody asks: Could we have four days' holiday for Whitsun? They argue: The weather is getting splendid for swimming; others prefer to fish in the river or pools; the elder girls want to enjoy themselves during their holidays going on making their shorts. One of them says at last: "Senorita we assure you that if we have four days without classes, our minds will be cleared and rested enough; and afterward we shall be able to excel in any school subject." With all these good reasons and schemes who is able to say . . . No!

It is noticeable how interested they have been these last days in any school subject, but especially in English. We have promised them three English prizes for each of the three groups of ages; so that they will pass an English exam before going for summer holidays with their foster parents.

Following this promise, we have found girls and boys of different ages translating a tale in their spare time with the help of their exercise-books and dictionaries; or just writing letters to their foster parents. Others get up before the bell rings and do the same in the garden.

For a picnic they were divided into two groups; the elder children ready to walk, and the little ones ready to play in the fields. These children imagined that they were Indians or Tarzans of the wild forest, and they ran and scampered about, with their inexhaustible vitality, jumping across a thirty-inch stream as if it were some river.

The group of elder children walked thirteen miles over neighbouring hills, farmlands, and river valleys. They came home happy, smiling, and bronzed with the sun. We expected to find somebody tired, and were surprised when they put the wireless on and started dancing.

All donations should be sent to Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, W.1. They will be most gratefully received.

Ez fer war, I call it murder,—
There you have it plain an' flat;
I don't want to go no furder
Than my Testament fer that;
God has said so plump an' fairly,
It's ez long ez it is broad,
Ef you've gut to git up early
Ef you want to take in God.
J. R. Lowell—*The Biglow Papers*.

UP THE GARDEN PATH

By
BESOM

ALDOUS HUXLEY'S comment on the Archbishop of Canterbury's assertion that "the use of the sword is the instrument of God for the protection of the people," was quoted on the front page of PEACE NEWS last week.

I have now discovered that his Grace was not being very original after all.

"Way back in the eighteenth century descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers grew seditious. Tucked away in a book called *Das Kapital*, of which some readers may have heard, is this description of their fate.

At English instigation and for English pay they were tomahawked by redskins. The British Parliament proclaimed bloodhounds and scalping as "means that God and Nature had given into its hands."

The author of *Das Kapital* was Karl Marx (no relative of the Marx Brothers); the mere idea that the Archbishop might have got his from such a source makes one wonder whom the red menace will attack next.

OR GERMAN, OR—?

There cannot be any career more noble for a young Englishman or Scotsman at the present time than to devote the years of his youth and prime to being a knight and paladin of the air: a man incapable of slaying women and children deliberately in brutal terrorism, but extremely competent in ridding the world of the villains who lend themselves to this filthy task."

—Mr. Winston Churchill, in a Sunday paper.

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF

Famous vaults where the Lewes martyrs spent their last hours are to be made into air raid shelters.

THANKS

"I hereby give permission to all the world to laugh at my funeral."

—Lord Castlerosse, in the *Sunday Express*.

We shall feel a lot easier about it now.

PLAY THE GAME, CADS!

Had Hitler and Mussolini been cricketers, I do not think we should have had all this trouble that is going on in Europe today.

—Sir Francis Lacey (for 25 years Secretary of the MCC.)

Capt. R. G. Briscoe, MP for Cambridgeshire, speaking at a bowls dinner in Cambridge, said: *If only Hitler and Mussolini could have a good game of bowls once a week at Geneva, I feel that Europe would not be so troubled as it is.*

VOLUNTEERS

Report from Naples: 41 officers and 1,795 soldiers have embarked on the Toscana. These detachments are leaving for Tripoli, some say. For Alibi, say others.—*Le Canard Enchaîné*.

HUMAN THE SAME AS WE

"When I went to see *Sanders of the River* and *Wings over Africa*, the black women hardly wore anything. Now, I don't think that is right; after all, they are human the same as we, and just because they happen to be black it does not mean to say that they do not have to wear anything."—Letter in *Picturegoer*.

Or that they must not fight like us.

STRICTLY NATURAL

Another example of Foreign Office flabbiness is in the Spanish affair. From the beginning I have argued that our proper game was to be strictly neutral and supply both sides, with a natural bias toward the Nationalist forces.

—Mr. C. G. Grey, in *The Aeroplane*.

AID TO CONCENTRATION

The professor of chemistry was giving a lesson on the powers of different explosives.

"This," he explained, "is one of the most dangerous explosives of them all. If I am in the slightest degree wrong in my experiment, we are liable to be blown through the roof. Kindly come a little closer, so that you may follow me better."—*Kentish Mercury*.

Which reminds me of the one about the sweet young thing in the car. "What's that?" said she, putting her foot on a little pedal.

"That," he replied, taking up his harp, "was the accelerator."

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

17 Featherstone Buildings,
London, W.C.1.

MANY readers will be glad to hear the news I have for them this week: that Lord Ponsonby is to write in our columns again.

I wish I could say that he was to resume his weekly notes and comments which were so popular a feature of the paper last year. But he had to give up his place on page two as he had undertaken heavy work in connexion with a book.

He is scarcely less busy now; so we have been fortunate in getting him to write the next "Speaking Personally" feature—beginning next week.

Later, we hope to have a special article from his pen.

Stood Against War

ONE of the few points on which many of his pacifist friends have found cause to disagree with Ponsonby was his attitude on the Eden crisis.

I think his commendation of Chamberlain's policy of negotiation in those particular circumstances was misunderstood by some as indicating wholehearted support of the National Government in its general policy.

But there was nothing inconsistent about Ponsonby then. It was no case of running off the rails.

For even during the War—when, remember, many pacifists lost their faith, while some professed not to have done so but to be convinced that war having "come," they had to "see it through"—he spoke throughout against it and in favour of peace by negotiation.

In the House of Commons, where he represented Stirling Burghs, he had the support of about a score of members, including Ramsay MacDonald, Snowden, Trevelyan and Jowett. But in the country—once at least in his own constituency—he sometimes had to speak without a chairman.

Church Experiment in Scotland

ANOTHER Peace Pledge Union sponsor whom readers have asked to see writing in PEACE NEWS is the Rev. George MacLeod. But he is being kept busy with a new and important piece of work which, though it entails, at least in preparation, much writing, is different from anything which occupies others who are good enough to write for us from time to time.

ALL CHANGE FOR THIS "EXPRESS"

The Daily Express has its own line of policy. It does not change. So said the Daily Express itself not long ago. Its own interpretation of this may be gathered from these extracts from two recent leading articles.

Peace

TALK peace. Think peace. Have peace in your heart. If men's minds dwell on peace then the prospect of it is improved. The attitude to life IS life.

THIS PROVES IT'S SILLY

For about 20 years a War hero has been drawing a pension from both the French and German Governments, his name appearing on the roll of honour of each country.

The man, Jules Walter, fought on both sides in the War. He is of Alsation origin, his father being German and his mother French.

—*Northern Daily Telegraph*, May 21.

IT WAS THERE

From a letter in *The Times* of June 5, 1938:

Public statues to Nelson and Wellington—national works in every respect—now engage the attention of all lovers of art and admirers of eminence . . . I hear that a Cleopatra's needle is recommended because it was present when Nelson fought the battle of Aboukir. "The force of folly can no further go."

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

He has already, I understand, given up his charge of Govan Parish Church, Glasgow, to undertake the leadership of a novel experiment which the Church of Scotland has embarked upon. It is to extend the principle of team ministries, such as already exist in some of the large churches.

A settlement is to be set up on the island of Iona to train young men, particularly in the work of ministering to the congested areas and the new housing estates—a problem which is giving considerable anxiety to the Church generally.

The trustees of Iona Abbey have given permission for the erection of a log hut settlement within their grounds capable of holding a community of some 20 young men. An anonymous donor has made possible the erection of the huts and the cost of the first year's working.

Nudes Made News

ALTHOUGH English people seem to know so little of Scotland, one would expect them to be talking about it a good deal just now if only in terms of the great Empire Exhibition in Glasgow.

Yet it is surprising how little it is talked of here. The exhibition scarcely gets into the Press even. We discovered, of course, that it was news when there was a "spot of bother" about some nude statues.

Then the visit of one or two important people from across the Border also provided some copy. There were, for instance, Harry Pollitt and the Lord Mayor of London. Not that they went together, or saw the same things from the same angle! The former informed us in the *Daily Worker* about a month later that

Whatever may be the aims of the promoters, there is no doubt that there is sufficient socialist propaganda to be got out of this exhibition to keep Labour speakers well provided with material for a long time.

I notice, by the way, that "Wm. Gallacher, Esq." is among the very distinguished company of people sponsoring the Peace Pavilion.

A Monthly about A.R.P.

WITH the incredible number of periodicals struggling for existence in the world, one would hardly think that one devoted to news about air raid precautions would find a place.

But here, sent by a Blackburn reader (for it is printed and published there), is the first issue of *ARP News*, a six-penny monthly. It is quite interesting, illuminating, and even amusing in parts—but only, I should imagine, to those who are already converted, either to the support or to the opposition of ARP. Most people, though, seem to regard ARP either with disinterest or as a "necessary evil" to bother about as little as possible, and certainly not to be read about unnecessarily.

In any case the production does not strike me as being very attractive, to say the least.

Poster Design

How's this for a poster? I'm afraid I can't take credit—or blame—for the idea. It was sent by a reader. This is the first of a series:

The Progress of Science

PHARAOH & HEROD bumped off the BOYS

MODERN WAR makes no unfair Sex Discrimination

There are no means of protecting children under six from gas—EXCEPT PACIFISM

Twenty-one Years Ago

From the *New Crusader*, June 22, 1917

On Sunday I met a soldier from my own north-country town just home from the front. He had taken part in the "Great Victory." I failed to discover enthusiasm, in spite of 9,000 prisoners in three days.

"Awful for us as well as for them. Yes—we are fed up—and Germans want peace, too."

Last week I had tea with a "shell-shock" case in the train. He was going back on Friday. No words could describe the strain of sitting opposite that face of despair. Every hour we acquiesce in the devilry we are guilty of.

Queer Origins of

THE WORDS WE USE

7—BEEFEATER

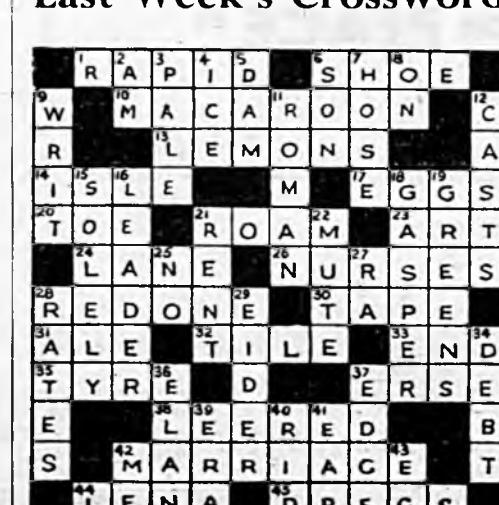
The Beefeaters at the Tower of London are another of those survivals from the past that linger on—like the pageantry still shown at military tattoos—picturesque but rather unreal in these days.

"Beefeater" is the kind of word one would expect to have a catch in it. Strangely enough, however, it is quite straightforward. Apparently, the original Yeomen of the Guard (appointed toward the end of the fifteenth century) were great eaters of beef. They were even supplied with specially big rations of it.

There is, however, a double meaning to the second part of the word. For although there seems to be no doubt that these men did actually eat great quantities of beef, they were also servants of the king. And "eater" used to be a synonym for "servant."

Ben Jonson, in his *Silent Woman* (written in 1609) gives us a good example of this. For one of his characters asks where all his "eaters" are.

Solution to Last Week's Crossword



GROUP NOTES

By John Barclay

On Summer Camps

THE overwhelming success of last year's camp at Swanwick was one of the reasons why the PPU made such rapid strides in the autumn and was the link which bound so many of us together when the news came of Dick Sheppard's death on October 31.

This year we are not attempting anything in the nature of a camp, but are combining a conference, camp, and holiday at the Basque House, Langham, near Colchester. Instead of the 250 members who came last year we shall only be able to manage 100 to 120 and yet, I think, from what we are planning a new impetus will come so that we shall get straight on with the job of organizing a really big holiday camp for 1939.

On Friday, July 29, we are starting this year's conference and it will go on for one week. The house at Langham stands in lovely grounds, and those of you who can bring tents and full equipment will have ideal surroundings to camp in.

Between seventy and eighty beds in the house will give the comfort for those who want it and lectures in the morning, games and sports in the afternoon, together with walking and swimming, will lead up to the discussion proper in the evening. The cost this year is much less, 25s. for the full week, and 12s. for a shorter period. I have application forms ready and an advance list of thirty already booked.

The lectures will be on the general subject of "The Advance toward Pacifism," and the full list of lecturers will be announced as soon as possible. Please write for application forms at once as there are a limited number of places. Whilst we are using the house, the Basque children will be enjoying a holiday with foster-parents and others.

On Open-Air Speaking

THERE are many specially awkward snags which open-air speakers come up against, as apart from the rocks and pitfalls which are expected by all speakers, indoor and out. I have therefore noted a few experiences which have come my way and which I now pass on for what they are worth:—

1. It is a bad plan to shout and tends to keep the crowd at a distance and "passing," whereas if you lower your voice and appeal to those in front (if any) to come in closer, those at the back will automatically come in. This prevents the first difficulty—tired voice.

2. I usually find it worth while to take the audience into my confidence and also to take it for granted that they are intelligent enough to understand any comment I make. Aim at getting a personal atmosphere and the heckler becomes a person controlled by the crowd and your second snag becomes an asset.

3. When there are other speeches going on in the immediate neighbourhood, the crowd "floats," and it is often wise to make your speech a series of short statements, each one self-contained, and not rely on longer and more detailed talk which depends for its effectiveness on the audience's having heard the beginning. A "floating" audience is a snag which can greatly interfere with effectiveness.

4. To avoid bad temper in your audience, always sympathize with a heckler.

I should be glad to have suggestions and help from those who are doing a lot of open-air speaking, as I think it would be worth while issuing a special leaflet on this subject.

Special Note to Group Leaders

WILL you please return as quickly as possible (to 17 Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1) the questionnaire sent out two weeks ago asking for information on PEACE NEWS selling. This is most important and will help in sending the circulation up.

Scarborough group invites members on holiday in the town to visit the Peace Shop at 47 St. Thomas Street (opposite the Opera House), open from June 18 to 21.

PEACE NEWS sellers wanted in Kingston-on-Thames during Civic Week (June 18 to 25). Write, Winifred M. Boyce, "River View," Lower Ham Road, Kingston-on-Thames. Phone: Kingston 1785.

To all members in Nottingham groups: If you are enthusiastic about pacifism please turn up to sell PEACE NEWS on Fridays and Mondays. Meet Friar Lane, 7 p.m. Do not leave it to a few.

Glasgow.—Wanted, urgently, names of volunteers for selling PEACE NEWS to go on a rota of sellers for minimizing the amount of labour per volunteer—also poster-paraders.—Write, Henry A. Barter, 181 Pitt Street, Glasgow, C.2.

City, W.1, W.C.1 & N.W.1 groups are combining to draw up rota of PEACE NEWS sellers for theatre and opera-house queues (which have been found good customers). Volunteers for any day of week (even Thursdays) please apply: City "Peace News" Secretary, City PPU Headquarters, 13 Pater-noster Row, E.C.4.

Hull: volunteers needed to sell PEACE NEWS. Open-air meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at West Park Gates.

Bristol wants more PEACE NEWS sellers each Saturday between 2.30 p.m. and 5 p.m.—Write John Bamford, 24 Bromley Road, Horfield, Bristol 7.

Birmingham wants more P.N. sellers each Friday, one hour or more between 4.30 and 5.30 p.m.—Write Wilfred S. Burtt, 3 Innage Road, Northfield, Birmingham.

Volunteers are wanted to sell PEACE NEWS in Cambridge.—Write to Austin Davies, 28 Malcolm Street, Cambridge.

West Norwood group will meet on the second and fourth Tuesdays of the month in Room 4, St. Luke's Church Hall—adjacent to West Norwood tram terminus.

Kettering group now meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. in the Toller Lecture Room, Meeting Lane, Kettering.

PPU open air meetings every Sunday at 8 p.m. on Whitfield's Mount, Blackheath, near Cricket Pitch.

Arrangements have been made between Streatham, Battersea, and Wandsworth groups whereby outdoor meetings are held every Sunday as follows:—Clapham Common—3 p.m.; Streatham Common—6.30 p.m.

All welcome at prayers for peace at All Saints', Blackheath, S.E.3, 7.30 p.m., every Monday. Once a fortnight prayers are followed by conference.

The War Resisters' International urgently needs help with translation work between Bulgarian and English. Anyone able to offer assistance kindly communicate with the Secretary, W.R.I. 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

The lending library at headquarters, 96 Regent Street, will in future be open all day from 9.30 a.m. to 7 p.m.

Sheringham group hopes to start a Book Shop and Social Service Centre in the near future. Would anyone with a tiny income, willing to live on communal lines, like to join in this venture? Write to Miss Florence Kearney, Lavenham, North Street, Sheringham.

Miss Kathleen Hoskin, 2 Quintrel Road, Newquay, Cornwall, would be glad to hear from pacifists intending to visit Newquay and district during the summer months; more especially those willing to take part in meetings and demonstrations.

The Notice Board

S. Wales Work Camp

A camp for students and others is to be held this summer in connexion with the ordinary activities of the Brynmawr (South Wales) Subsistence Production Society.

It will be run on similar lines to camps arranged in previous years by the Subsistence Production Society in the Eastern Valley of Monmouthshire.

The camp will offer to those taking part an insight into unemployment problems and an opportunity to appreciate the difficulties facing those who seek to alter the existing order of things.

Volunteers from this country and abroad (not under 21 years of age) are invited to apply for membership of the camp. They should be physically fit and ready to work for seven hours each day and four hours on Saturday. Further particulars may be obtained from Jim Forrester, Cwmavon, Varteg, Pontypool, Monmouthshire.

CAMPS FOR UNEMPLOYED

With the object of giving the unemployed four good meals a day and complete freedom to spend a holiday as they desire, the National Committee to Provide Holidays for Unemployed Workers in Distressed Areas, inaugurated by British university students, is undertaking the organization of holiday camps.

Last year 1,350 men, 250 women and 200 boys camped in this way in South Wales. The camps are organized democratically and the hard work is done by university students.

The committee, which has the backing of the Labour Party and many other organizations, is particularly anxious this year to equip a camp for the wives of unemployed men, and has launched an appeal for £3,000. Particulars may be obtained from the Hon. F. Pakenham, Unemployed Holiday Fund, Christ Church, Oxford.

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This pamphlet draws attention to the existence of hundreds of men on the Continent who refuse, at the cost of imprisonment, to take part in preparation for War against THIS or any other country—correcting a widespread error—that there are no pacifists outside Britain.

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able to deal with
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tions for copies.

JUNE 18th, 1938

Dear Sir . . .

PEACE ARMY IN PALESTINE?

IT seems to me that Canon Raven's *War and the Christian* has not received the notice it deserves. It combines in a unique degree strength of conviction with fairness to opposing views, and the case for pacifism is immeasurably strengthened because rarely, if ever, does one see the arguments against it so effectively stated. It should stir us all to deeper thought and wiser action.

For example, the author says:

Nothing is more evident than that if our battalions were withdrawn from Palestine, wholesale rioting and massacre would result. The thousands of Jews who have sought a home there, relying on our power to safeguard their lives, would be exposed to the assaults of people who still believe war to be a holy calling and the slaughter of infidels the proper work of a true believer.

We are not sure that he is here expressing his own views, but he adds: "The majority of our countrymen are certainly not prepared to leave the Empire undefended, to open the North-West Frontier, or to expose the Jews to massacre."

Canon Raven warns us of the imminent danger of a disastrous split in the Church, and suggests that all Christians, whether pacifist or not, should meet together to discuss two main problems, namely:

1. The fundamental (doctrinal and philosophic) grounds upon which their contrary views are based.
2. The practical points on which they agree, and could cooperate in formulating a united policy.

He points out that the practical differences between pacifists and non-pacifists may not be so great as appears on the surface, and that there is ample scope for the application of practical measures which would not require the use of armed force, and for which both could work in perfect accord.

The difference between pacifists and non-pacifists is not that the former are willing to stand by while the Jews are massacred and the latter are not, but simply that pacifists would apply a different method of protecting them. The Christian way of protecting one's friends is by the conversion of their enemies through love and the voluntary sacrifice of self. This achieves more permanent

"PLOWMAN PACIFISTS"

Referring to the recent correspondence in PEACE NEWS concerning "Plowman Pacifists," may I point out that in the initial letter, Miss M. H. Bennett is stating a matter of fact when she says that two types of pacifist are found among members of the PPU, the religious and the rational. These two types attempt to achieve their objectives by means suited to their respective temperaments, and will naturally not work efficiently if lumped together and told to "cooperate . . . and get on with the job."

The PPU consists of a body of people who have signed Dr. Sheppard's pledge: "I renounce war, &c.," and does not, as one of your correspondents remarks, consist of "a group of people pledged to uphold at all costs the religious belief in the absolute value of the individual." Many are agnostics, some behaviourists, and a few, mystics.

Surely it is time that the PPU discouraged sentimentalizing over the inherent beauty of human nature and the brotherhood of man. It's a myth. And brotherhood will only be approached in the world of reality by hard work toward that end based on an intelligent understanding of human beings and their requirements, not on emotions and belief in the self-sufficiency of religious experience.

Pacifists can only succeed if they remove the rock-bottom causes of war—and that is a job calling for deep thought and psychological understanding.

In a movement of this kind, dictatorship at headquarters will be regarded as essential by all adult minds. (The movement is not yet strong enough to permit of a dialectical system, which further, may not be compatible with pacifist ideals.) But if that dictatorship is to be successful, it must be broadminded as well as discriminating, attending to all aspects, not interesting itself only in the faint policy of the average opinion.

May I then make a plea that head-

results because it saves both friends and enemies.

The practical expression of this would seem to be a peace army, trained in methods of relief, reconciliation and goodwill. Such an army could be sent to danger spots, such as Palestine and the north-west frontier, to act as a *liaison* and a medium of friendship between the peoples of opposing races and creeds. In times of trouble they would act as a "buffer," being ready, if necessary, to die with those they were trying to protect.

We could not hope to compare numerically with the military army, but this would be compensated for by the immensely greater effectiveness of our methods. Is there not already the nucleus of such an army even now at work in Palestine?

If non-pacifists saw that we have not only a general policy, but also for the individual a practical alternative to military service, and that we are willing to take equal risks and to undergo the hardships and sacrifices which are expected of the soldier, they would probably come in and help us. A peace army would provide a creative outlet for the youthful idealism and love of adventure, and for those immense energies of men which at present seem to find their chief means of expression in war.

O. T. MILLER
"Heathcote," Norwich Road,
Fakenham.

"PALESTINE BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE BORN IN IT"

I await with much interest Mr. Edmund Cockside's account of his stay with the Arab community. Will he find the main cause of the unrest in Palestine? Will he lay the blame on the land-owner who levies tribute on the natives, or on the syndicates or men who now seek to exploit the new situation. The photograph of Tel-Aviv should bring the question of the land-ownership evil right in front of those who are seeking the real welfare of the community.

To suggest or fancy that any kind of cooperation among the people can alter the basic cause of poverty amid plenty is like painting the ship while the rudderless vessel must eventually crash. The land of Palestine and Syria belongs to the people who are born in it and to no others.

HENRY EDGCOMBE.
30 The Downs, S.W.20.

quarters and the movement generally, should give greater encouragement to those pacifists who style themselves agnostics, behaviourists, or mystics. Some pacifists may be quite happy dancing with Mr. Wragg's angels and brandishing PEACE NEWS in the clouds, but others want to build solid, earthly dwellings—from mud, if necessary.

The PPU has difficulties, internal as well as external, why not face up to them instead of playing the ostrich.

WILLIAM G. WREN.
120 King's Court, W.6.

LABOUR PARTY AND MILITARISM

As an old socialist and erstwhile ardent supporter of the Labour Party of many years standing, I have watched the latter-day trend of the party toward militarism with a profound regret. Their fear of Hitlerism and the Totalitarian State is now driving them into a policy which, immediately war starts, imposes the Totalitarian State in this country. Could bitter irony go further?

The Labour Party leaders may find some consolation in the fact that we shall suffer the tyranny of British military Junkers instead of German ones, but the old socialist movement has always believed that the nationality of the oppressors did not "cut any ice" with the victims—it was the oppression itself that mattered.

F. E. WILLIAMSON.

IS PACIFIST ADVOCACY INTOLERABLE?

Clearly Mr. F. Talbot writes without knowledge of the pacifist position.

But even so, why in a democratic country does he think it "intolerable" that a policy, unacceptable to the people, should, nevertheless, be submitted by those who have faith in such a policy?

Is his own policy acceptable? If not, does he cease from its advocacy?

A. STEPHEN NOEL.
42 Woodcote Road, Wanstead, E.11.

Educating the Masses

As one who was made a pacifist by the casualty list in the last war I always feel more than a little impatient with discussions on personal behaviour and pacifism which entirely omit the fact that war is the result of secret diplomacy and cleverly engineered mass hysteria, and that it results in the butchery of the innocent, chivalrous youth of Europe, who have had no chance of knowing what war means and are too young to have voted for armaments.

I feel we are too apt to sit in comfort and treat pacifism as an interesting abstruse faith or philosophy, whereas it is a bitter fight against a cruel death for the innocent youth of all nations than would ever be permitted for any animals.

If national love or hatred of another country were genuine, and not, as is the case, the result of press, wireless, and even church propaganda, I could believe that our only hope of securing pacifism would be to see to it that no pacifist ever entertained an uncharitable thought; impossible as such a state of mind might appear for us imperfect mortals.

But so long as the great majority of human beings can be stirred to counterfeit love or hatred by government artifices, it is surely our first duty, knowing from the last war the result of such counterfeit passions, to educate the masses: not so much to a universal love of their next door neighbour, relations, and townsfolk, whom they know personally and for whom they can therefore feel a genuine love or aversion, but to educate them to an honesty of thought, which will not allow them to be blinded to the sins of their country, and will make them refuse to judge any nation or any government unless all the facts of both sides are laid on the table, and which will make them realize that so long as secret diplomacy exists these facts will never be laid bare.

If every man and woman in the world could be educated to this honesty of thought no war could ever take place because everyone would know that no nation is entirely guilty or entirely guiltless.

It is only after we have realized the

madness and dishonesty of war that faith comes in. If we refuse to participate in such madness, such direct disobedience to God's specific demand "Thou shalt not kill," we who call ourselves Christians know that God will help us and care for us in this world and the next; and it is here that I am filled with admiration for our non-Christian friends who, without the knowledge of God's underlying support, but from sheer humanity, are brave enough to launch out into the depths of pacifism.

WINIFRED A. M. GREENFIELD.
36 Orchard Avenue, Parkstone.

A FITTING COMMENT

It is interesting to note that the small bills advertising the fourth centenary of the Bible and air raid precautions appear on adjacent windows of London's underground railway trains—certainly a fitting comment on our civilization and our religion.

Four centuries of the gospel of love and trust for all to read and then all the leaders of the Church can do is to urge us to rush into a mass movement of war preparation.

F. L. PAIGE.

6 Sherwood Court,
South Harrow, Middlesex.

THE NEXT SIX MONTHS

A week-end conference, arranged by a number of London groups, will be held on Saturday and Sunday, July 2nd and 3rd, at 8, Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1. Sessions will be opened by rank and file members, but sponsors are invited to join in the discussion.

SUBJECTS:

Saturday: 2.30 p.m. to 5.0 p.m.

A.R.P.: OSTRICH OR GULL?

6.0 p.m. to 8.30 p.m.

THE APPEAL TO THE WORKER

Sunday: 2.30 p.m. to 5.0 p.m.

THE PROBLEM OF PUBLICITY

6.0 p.m. to 8.30 p.m.

IS THE P.P.U. A MOVEMENT?

Tickets, including tea on both days, two shillings, from R. Page, 38, Bullsmoor Lane, Enfield, Middlesex.

CANCER

THE FAILURE OF MODERN RESEARCH

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World Peace can be most effectively advanced by the adoption of a way of life in harmony with the essential spirit of Peace.

It is vain to hope that Peace can be established upon earth whilst mankind continues to inflict warfare upon the sub-human races.

We pray for Peace, yet obstruct the fulfilment of our prayers so long as we continue to slay and devour the bodies of animal fellow-creatures, to support the tortures of the trade in furs and feathers, to condone the atrocious yet ever-spreading practice of vivisection, and numerous other forms of warfare and exploitation of those other races of beings which share the world with us.

Peace is Harmony—the attunement, not of part but of the whole way of life.

THE UNITED HUMANITARIAN LEAGUE, 4 WORSLEY ROAD, HAMPSTEAD, N.W.3



HOW MANCHESTER MEMBERS OF THE PPU ADVERTISED A BIG MEETING

For the benefit of others wishing to adopt this method, it may be explained that the banner was tied to three uprights mounted on a wooden base fastened longitudinally on the roof of the car. The uprights and the base are tied to the car at various points to ensure rigidity.

PARS for the PLATFORM

Logic

"IN speaking of bombers," said Mr. Chamberlain on May 25, "I cannot, of course, disclose the range or the bomb loads of the latest pattern. But those in service, I am informed, are the fastest bombers in the world. The new types which are now on order show such a marked advance on those which are now in service in all respects that I think it is very unlikely their performance will be surpassed by the bombers of any other country."

The argument is based, presumably, on the obvious fact that because what were new types some years ago showed such a marked advance on those then in service their performance has not been surpassed by those of any other country. Why rearm, then?

What India Pays

DESPITE the fact that India is one of the richest countries of the world, little of the wealth produced there finds its way into the pockets of the great mass of the inhabitants. In addition, India is obliged to contribute toward the cost of her defence as part of the Empire. This has cost India the following amounts in recent years:

1935-36	£33,735,000.
1936-37	£34,087,000.
1937-38	£35,407,000.
1938-39	£33,885,000.

The British soldier costs three or four times as much to maintain as the Indian soldier. The authorized establishment of British troops in India is 57,000, although the actual number there is at present about 6,000 below that figure.

What, Never?

HITLER'S letter to Mussolini after the conquest of Austria was answered by the enigmatic reply: "I will never forget your actions." Foreign observers thereupon recalled two statements by the Duce on Austria which speak for themselves:

The independence of Austria, for which Dollfuss died, is a principle which was defended and which will be still more vigorously defended by Italy.—Mussolini's telegram to the Austrian Vice-Chancellor on July 26, 1934.

I have never promised, either directly or indirectly, to defend the independence of Austria.—Mussolini in the Chamber of Deputies, March 16, 1938.

—Nofrontier News Service.

Crazy Economics

IN Chile 3,000,000 gallons of "surplus" wine have just been destroyed.

In Brazil 100,000 bags of coffee (each bag containing 132lbs.) are destroyed every day. That coffee costs 2s. 3d per lb. by the time it reaches us.

In Britain, farmers are fined for growing too many potatoes (a Dorset farmer has just had to pay £300), although the price has gone up 1d. a pound, and thousands are in want.

No Safeguard

DO you agree that British rearmament is a safeguard for peace? was a question put to Mr. Bernard Shaw by a *Daily Express* representative. Mr. Shaw replied: "That is all rubbish. All armaments provoke rival armaments, and finally the guns go off, unless as at present the Powers are too mortally afraid of going to war with modern weapons to open fire."

DIARY OF THE WEEK

June

18 (Sat.) **ASHFORD**; 3.15 p.m. Large Cooperative Hall, High Street; regional conference; PPU.
CROYDON; 7 p.m. Katherine Street; open-air meeting; John Barclay, Rev. Pat Figgis, Sybil Morrison, Preston Benson; PPU.
WOODFORD GREEN; 7.30 p.m. near Men's Club (it wet in Congregational Church Hall); open-air meeting; Herbert Gray and Wilfred Wellock; PPU.
NEWTON ABBOT; 7.30 p.m. Market Square; W. J. Parkin; PPU.
18 & 19 (Sat. & Sun.) **LEWES**; YMCA, High Street; weekend school; Roy Walker, Rev. Paul Gliddon, Dr. D. A. Crow, and Frank Hancock; PPU.
WREXHAM; YMCA Hut, Argyle Street; weekend school for Wales; speakers to include Dr. Gwenan Jones, Miss M. Jolliffe, Cwylfor Evans, and Hywel Lewis; PPU.
18-21 (Sat.-Tues.) **SCARBOROUGH**; 47 St. Thomas Street (opposite Opera House); peace shop; PPU.
18-25 (Sat.-Sat.) **NEWCASTLE**; Town Moor; peace exhibition and literature stall; PPU.
19 (Sun.) **CRAYFORD** Station; 10.30 a.m. meet for West Kent Region Ramble jointly with International Friendship League.
TEIGNMOUTH; 3 p.m. Northumberland Place; W. J. Parkin and E. C. Maddax; PPU.
ASHBURTON; 7.30 p.m. Bull Ring; W. J. Parkin and E. C. Maddax; PPU.
OTLEY; 7.30 p.m. Market Place; open air meeting; Leeds PPU group.
NEWCASTLE; 7.30 p.m. Town Moor; open air meeting; Canon Stuart Morris and James H. Hudson; PPU.
LEYTONSTONE; 8 p.m. Forest Land; peace demonstration; Ben Greene and Rev. R. Sorenson; PPU.
POTTERS BAR; 8 p.m. Congregational Church Parlour; John Barclay on "Pacifism, a Personal Responsibility"; PPU.
HENLEY-ON-THAMES; Friends' Meeting House, Northfield Road; one-day conference; PPU.
20 (Mon.) **LONDON, W.1.**; 7.15 p.m. King's Weigh House Church, Thomas Street, Oxford Street; Rev. Lewis MacLachlan at Fellowship of Reconciliation meeting.
ABINGDON; 7.45 p.m. Baptist Schoolroom; annual meeting; Rev. H. J. White and John Gowin; PPU.
20-24 (Mon.-Fri.) **BATH**; peace week; Bath Peace Council and LNU.
21 (Tues.) **LONDON, N.W.1.**; 1.20 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; W. Arthur Lewis on "Bad Conditions in the West Indies"; Peace Committee of London Friends.
AUDENSHAW; 8 p.m. St. Hilda's School, Denton Road; G. A. Sutherland; PPU.
23 (Thurs.) **LONDON, E.C.4.**; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Rev. W. C. Roberts on "Peace and Progress"; City PPU group.
LONDON, E.C.4.; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; discussion on Non-Violence; City PPU group.
BATH; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Canon Stuart Morris; PPU.
24 (Fri.) **LANCASTER**; 7.45 p.m. Jubilee Hall, China Street; Dr. Alfred Salter, Mrs. Byles Ford, and Rev. F. F. Pepper (chairman); PPU.
HORSHAM; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Worthing Road; Mrs. N. Y. S. Richardson and Frank Martin; PPU.
SCARBOROUGH; 7.45 p.m. Friends Meeting House, York Place; Richard C. Wood; PPU.
ST. ALBANS; 8.15 p.m. Market Place; John Barclay; PPU.
24-28 (Fri.-Tues.) **CAMBRIDGE**; Regent House; week-end congress; details from the Secretary, World Congress of Faiths, 36 Victoria Street, S.W.1.
25 (Sat.) **BRISTOL**; 3.15 p.m. Westbury Bus Terminus; meet for ramble and open air meeting; PPU.
KINGSTON-ON-THAMES; 6.15 p.m. Corporation Baths; meet for poster parade; 8 p.m., open air meeting; PPU.
UXBRIDGE; 8 p.m. Central Hall; open air meeting; PPU.
SHEFFIELD; Aperknowle; one-day school; Wilfred Wellock; PPU; details from Donald Rodger, 45 Cairns Road, Sheffield.

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EDUCATIONAL

£8 8s. 0d. TERMLY (half fees). Girl boarder (5-10) received next term in good-class school, Lincolnshire. Particulars from Box 96, PEACE NEWS, 17 Featherstone Buildings, W.C.1.

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PRIVATE TUTOR can accept backward boy or youth as boarder, or foreign student to learn English.—Box 79, PEACE NEWS, 17 Featherstone Buildings, W.C.1.

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BROCCOLI, Sprouts, Savoy and Autumn Cabbage plants, 1s. 6d. 100 carriage paid.—Kemp, Hoath Hill, Mountfield, Robertsbridge.

HEALTH AND MEDICAL

MISS J. D. WALLINGTON, health practitioner, osteopath, bone-setter, treats all conditions of ill-health by natural methods; particularly successful with nerve and digestive cases. Consultations by appointment. 1 Ashley Place, S.W.1 (Victoria 0131), and 2 Norton Way North, Letchworth. (Letchworth 885.)

ILLUMINATED ADDRESSES

ALBUMS, SCROLLS, &c., from 3 to 100 guineas. Battle Brothers Ltd., Printers and Publishers, The Queensgate Press, Clapham Park, S.W.4.

PERSONAL

BULGARIAN PACIFIST, exiled since 1920, will tour England by bicycle, July and August. Has travelled all over Europe and worked two years in Whiteway Colony, near Stroud. Any pacifist cyclist wishing to accompany him on part of his trip, or group leaders wishing him to speak at small informal meetings, please write to E. S. Tew, 91 Lyndhurst Gardens, Finchley, N.3.

FRENCH FAMILY wishes son, age 14, to stay in English home, in or near London, during July. In exchange would receive son or daughter (13-15) of English family during August. Best references. Particulars from E. S. Tew, 91 Lyndhurst Gardens, Finchley, N.3.

"THANK YOU SO MUCH"

I let the flat almost immediately from an advertisement in PEACE NEWS, and could not wish for a nicer or more considerate couple.

Thank you so much.

D. C., London.

26 (Sun.) **OTLEY**; 7.30 p.m. Market Place; open air meeting; Huddersfield PPU group.

COMING SHORTLY

June.

27 (Mon.) **BELLSTONE**, Shrewsbury; 7.30 p.m. Morris Hall; Miss Vera Brittain on "Peace or War: What we can do"; Women's International League, PPU, and For.

KINGSWAY; 8 p.m. Kingsway Hall; meeting to welcome Jawaharlal Nehru; details from The India League, 165 Strand, London, W.C.2.

July.

1 (Fri.) **KENSINGTON**; 8 p.m. Town Hall, Rev. R. Sorenson on "The Case for the PPU"; tickets for reserved seats (free) from G. E. Nixon, 3 Kenway Road, S.W.5.

2 & 3 (Sat. & Sun.) **GODALMING**, Surrey; Hillside Guest House, Farncombe Hill; weekend school; Dr. D. A. Crow, R. H. Ward, and J. Middleton Murry; PPU; details from John F. Brown, 117 Sloan Street, London, S.W.1.

NORWICH; Colman Road Open-Air school; weekend lecture school; Wilfred Wellock; PPU; details from Percy J. Boddy, 8 Hughenden Road, Norwich.

CAMP IN HOLLAND

The Star Camp of Krishnamurti will be held in Ommen, Holland, from August 3 to 15. The cost will be about £2 10s. per person, and reservations should be sent as soon as possible to the manager of the Star Camp at the above address.

About fifteen members of the unorganized International Brotherhood of the "Human Family" are expected to be present, and anyone wishing to join this group should notify those responsible to that effect.

The Saviour came, with trembling lips.

He counted Europe's battleships.

"Yet millions lack their daily bread.

So much for Calvary!" He said.

Norman Gate—The Second Coming.

RELIGIOUS

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

SERVICES

AS PLANNED BY DICK SHEPPARD Celebrations of the Holy Communion take place in the Crypt of St. Paul's every Wednesday at 7.45 a.m., when prayers are offered for the renunciation of war and for those engaged in the peace movement.

SITUATIONS

Vacant

BASQUE HOUSE needs competent but unprofessional nurse. Knowledge of Spanish not essential, but must be capable young woman who is happy with children and would be willing to work for small salary and all expenses. Young married couple might be suitable, the man to be night-watchman one week in three and help in house-decorating. Write: Secretary, PPU Basque Children's Committee, 96 Regent Street, W.1.

Wanted

ADAPTABLE YOUNG MAN, aged 24, seeks permanent progressive situation in accounts of any description, having had nearly eight years' experience in insurance accounts and having passed intermediate examination of Corporation of Accountants. Box 64, PEACE NEWS, 17 Featherstone Buildings, W.C.1.

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WHERE TO STAY

BOSCOMBE, Bournemouth, Hants, refined accommodation. Bed-breakfast 3s. 6d. or apartments free garage.—"Avon House," 26, Ropley Road.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Vegetarian Food Reform Guest House, Alt. 600ft. For happy holiday or restful recuperation increased accommodation. Central heating throughout; h. and c. water in all bedrooms. Central for conferences.—A. & K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, near Matlock. Telephone Ambergate 44. Station, Ambergate (L.M.S.).

DEVON AND CORNWALL FOR EARLY HOLIDAYS.—Two delightful and well-recommended Guest Houses, Newquay and Dawlish. New illustrated brochure.—Douglas Bishop, "Fairfield," Dawlish (mention PEACE NEWS).

FRIENDS' CONVALESCENT AND HOLIDAY HOME, Canvey Island, Essex. Terms from £1 1s. per week.—Apply, Miss Mabel Stewart, Cranley Gardens, Palmers Green, N.13.

NEW FOREST. The Guest House, Godshill, Fordingbridge, Hants. Beautiful country. Riding, tennis, river bathing. Vegetarians welcome.

SUNNY SUSSEX. Small Guest House, Quiet garden, lovely walks. Bus Eastbourne, Warner, Privett Cottage, Cowbeech, Hailsham.

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"PEACE NEWS" is published weekly as a National Newspaper at the retail price of 2d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers at 17, Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1.

Attacks on British Ships

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 1)

sumed. The attacks on British ships have been continuous and in many cases obviously deliberate.

If a British government can put up with so direct a threat to our prestige and power as this are we to assume a change of heart and a growing pacifism in British governing circles? There are excellent reasons for knowing this not to be the case.

It has been reported that at the beginning of the war in Spain the British Government threatened the Spanish Government with naval action when it proposed to stop oil supplies going to Franco in British ships, and the whole story of non-intervention, and in particular the Anglo-Italian Agreement, which was only to come into force when the Spanish civil war was ended, have shown quite clearly that the British Government looks forward with satisfaction to victory for General Franco.

It seems rather that the anger of the British Government is now directed to different things.

The Government doesn't do anything when British sailors are killed when supplying food to the working-class side in Spain, but it makes a serious international incident about German default on the Austrian loan—as if Britain had not already defaulted on the loan to USA!—bully Mexico when it decides to buy out foreign oil companies, and immediately sends out gunboats to Jamaica when more than half-starved natives go on strike.

The natural deduction from Mr. Chamberlain's statement is that if it is too difficult or dangerous to defend British lives and property when they are doing legitimate trade with the Spanish Republic then it is also too dangerous and wrong to risk warlike action to defend the property and rights of British citizens in other parts of the Empire and totally unjustified to call upon British sailors or airmen to fight for imperial interests elsewhere.

Italy Please!
Government Supporters
Divided

The Prime Minister's statement seems to reflect that body of opinion among National Government supporters which considers bombing to be justifiable by standards of modern warfare.

That there was a division of opinion was admitted by *The Times* on Wednesday. This probably explains the fact that at the end of last week "sharp measures to stop the outrages" were being considered.

Some of these measures were dropped owing to practical difficulties. Nevertheless *The Times* then reported that "the Government is determined that interference with legitimate British trade shall cease."

The bombing of British ships is looked upon in Government circles as part of the general problem of bombing. To deal with this the Government had originally proposed the sending of an international commission to Spain to report on whether bombed towns could be properly regarded as military objectives. Over this suggestion delay has arisen, however. It was claimed that, were it adopted, "the airmen, or their commanders, would know that the exact nature of their attacks would be shown up before the world."

ITALIAN VIEW

It is particularly interesting to note that, two days before Mr. Chamberlain made his statement in Parliament, the Rome Correspondent of *The Times* reported that

Italian political observers, who have been following the reaction of British public opinion to the bombing of British ships in Spanish ports with anxious interest, as the long press messages from London testify, have now come, with considerable relief, to the conclusion that the British Government is not going to move in the matter.

FLAGS AT EXHIBITION: SEQUEL TO DISPUTE

Flags of all nations have now been removed from the garden of the Peace Pavilion in the Empire Exhibition following the removal of the flags of Germany, Italy and Japan (reported on page 9).

Sir Robert Wilson, chairman of the committee in charge of the pavilion suggested the best course was to take down all flags and leave plots in the garden to represent the various nations.

Facts in Official Report Show—

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AS A CAUSE OF GRAVE WORLD UNREST

ARISING out of the debate in the House of Commons last year on the Colonial Estimates, the suggestion was made that there should be an annual report on the Colonies.

This suggestion has been adopted and the first report has now been issued under the title *The Colonial Empire in 1937-38* (Cmd. 5760). We have here a current guide to the whole of the dependent Empire.

The report takes the Empire for granted and deals with it on that basis. It assumes that a colonial empire is justified in itself if it can prove that the welfare of the inhabitants are taken care of.

To this end the report addresses itself and we are given a fairly detailed survey of the local, social and economic problems of the dependencies scattered throughout the world.

It would require an expert from the spot to say exactly how far the rather complacent interpretations of conditions are really justified. As it is, there are references in the report that make uneasy reading for the layman.

Diseases resulting from malnutrition are not confined to one or two colonies but occur almost everywhere amongst indigenous populations," is disturbing even when followed by the comforting assurances that this is not due so much to lack of foodstuffs as to ignorance. The reports on health, education, and labour give also the impression that a great deal more might be said.

Those who are interested in the welfare of our 55 million fellow-British subjects scattered over the world in our dependent Empire will find 1s. 3d. well spent in obtaining a copy of the report.

Need for Raw Materials

Those interested in peaceful adjustment of world relations, and who recognize the economic problem as one of the prime factors, cannot ignore certain sections of the report. This colonial empire makes us one of the endowed Powers.

There is today a growing demand for colonial outlets on the part of the newer and unendowed nations on the ground that they must have sources of raw materials at their command for the livelihood of their peoples. They can only obtain these raw materials if they can trade with the territories which provide these materials.

What part is the British Empire playing in solving this urgent and pressing problem?

There is no direct answer given to this question, but the report gives sufficient evidence to show that far from alleviating the problem, the commercial policy pursued by the British Empire is intensifying and aggravating this cause of international unrest.

Ottawa Responsible

The commercial policy of the Empire was based till 1933 upon the principle of the "open door." This does not mean free trade but it does mean complete equality of trading opportunity to traders of all nations alike even those of the mother country.

The Ottawa Conference of 1933 reversed this policy by instituting the policy of the "closed door" by a system of preferential tariffs for British traders.

The economic effect has been that countries which are in need of the produce of the colonies have to a growing extent been unable to meet the preferential competition of the British traders and have, therefore, been unable to obtain their raw materials.

On the other hand Britain has been

unable to absorb all the commodities produced with the result that four of the most important colonial commodities, namely rubber, tin, tea, and sugar are subject to restriction schemes supported and imposed by the Government. A fifth commodity, copper, is restricted by private arrangement.

We have, therefore, the spectacle of nations like Germany, Italy and Japan creating serious international tensions by their demand for access to raw materials and at the same time the British colonial system is imposing restriction on the production of raw materials.

Dangerous Situation

The dangerous incongruity of this situation is, of course, recognized. The report itself quotes a speech of the Foreign Secretary at the Assembly of the League of Nations last September in which he said that the British Government was

ready as part of the efforts now being made to effect economic and political agreement and to increase international trade—but without prejudice to the principle of colonial preference . . . to enter into discussion with foreign Powers which may approach it for an abatement of particular preferences in non-self governing colonial territories where these can be shown to place undue restriction on international trade.

This is a hollow offer as the question does not centre over a particular preference but involves the whole principle of the "closed door," and on this the Government make it clear they will not compromise.

No wonder need be expressed that no foreign government as yet has made any approach to the British Government on this matter.

"Closed Door" condemned

The policy of the "closed door" stands condemned not only on economic grounds but on political grounds. When the first Ottawa Conference met in 1894 and adopted the principle of colonial preferences, the Marquess of Ripon, as Colonial Secretary, rejected these preferential agreements, and in his dispatch he pointed out that "it must not be forgotten that while the grant of preferential tariff treatment is a friendly act to the country receiving it, it is an unfriendly act to countries or places excluded from it."

This is as true today as it was then and was recognized by one of Wilson's fourteen points, and by the establishment of the "open door" principle in all mandated territories.

The Ottawa Agreement of 1933 in rejecting the "open door" policy in colonial matters (and the most favoured nation principle in dominion matters) was essentially an unfriendly act to the rest of the world. The present commercial policy of the British Empire is no less aggressive than that of Italy or Japan.

This report on the British Colonial Empire should remind the real peace lovers that the problem of the British Empire is one of the great problems of international peace, and that its commercial policy cannot be left out of consideration in any great peace plan.

Swiss Invite British Children

Children who have probably never seen the green fields of their own country are to have an opportunity to gaze upon the majestic mountains of Switzerland.

The Mayor of the Swiss village of Adelboden has invited parties of children from Britain's distressed areas to stay a month as the village's guests.

NEWS OF NOTE THIS WEEK

MEXICO AND THE CHURCH

While many people are drawing a parallel between the situation in Mexico and that which existed in Spain just before the present war started it is interesting to note a definition of the Mexican Government's religious policy which has just been provided by the President.

In Tabasco—where Catholics have suffered persecution in the past—animosity has led to a new conflict. The President has told the Tabasqueño authorities that they must comply with the Federal laws and provide a place and means of worship for Catholics, and must repeal local laws against Catholics.

The President declares that the liberal church policy he is following is producing a friendship between Church and State which has not existed for many years.

MORE HOLIDAYS WITH PAY

The Swedish Parliament passed last week a Bill inaugurating legal paid holidays of twelve days a year (excluding Sundays) for employees who have held their jobs for 180 days or more.

The holiday payment to be made to piece-workers will be calculated on average earnings. The holiday is to be continuous—except in the case of agricultural labourers.

Employees whose holiday already exceeds twelve days will be legally protected from having it shortened as a consequence of the new law.

Conditions in West Africa

POVERTY AND EXPLOITATION

HOW poverty is hindering the progress of the African was described by Mr. Nii Amaa Ollennu in an address at Winchmore Hill, on Wednesday night, on "Present-day Conditions in West Africa."

There were hardly any free schools, he said, and, nominal though the fees seemed to be in the lower-grade schools, most people could not afford them—much less the cost of education for a degree, which, however, was provided in a few colleges.

The lowest educational standard for the Civil Service was the Oxford or Cambridge School Certificate. The salary for a graduate joining the Civil Service was £72 a year, whereas a European graduate joining the Service there got £480, free bungalow, and car and other allowances.

From the earliest penetration of West Africa by Europeans—chiefly by the Portuguese and Spaniards—the motive had been trade.

The Gold Coast (the speaker's own country) produced two-thirds of the world's supply of cocoa. There were also gold, diamonds, and manganese there.

Touching on the cocoa problem, Mr. Ollennu described how the Africans had passively resisted the pools which the European traders had formed to limit the price paid for the cocoa.

Conscription: Two Views

"Conscription under any conditions is a hideous cruelty," said Lord Allen of Hurtwood in letter to the *News Chronicle* last week. He added:

It is also morally and politically indefensible. It deprives a man of the prerogative of free choice in deciding for himself whether a war justifies him in giving his own life and taking the lives of others. The issue of life and death, as raised by conscription, is *ultra vires* in a State founded upon democratic consent.

But, writing on the same day in the *Daily Express*, Frank Owen said:

I am telling you: industrial conscription is coming.

. . . It is not only labour that will be conscripted. Wealth is going to be pressed into the national service, too.

. . . Now Mr. Chamberlain may water down the warnings of conscription. Or Sir Thomas Inskip may play them up. They may agree that what they said was substantially the same, or they may explain that neither meant anything by what he said.

The truth that will prevail is this: that in the next war we shall be all in from the word go.

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PEACE NEWS

June 18, 1938

MICROPHONE WARNING TO CROWDS AT TATTOO

Pacifists at Aldershot

From Our Own Correspondent

OVER a hundred members of the PPU voiced an emphatic protest against the Aldershot Tattoo in a demonstration on Saturday night. Though the reception was generally hostile the demonstration did at least show to Aldershot that pacifists are not misled by the pageantry of military shows.

For three hours a public address car and poster parades flooded the town. The loud speaker equipment was fitted to a member's car and Nigel Spottiswoode was at the microphone installed inside. His warning to those going to the Tattoo must have been heard for a considerable distance and certainly it aroused cat-calls, boos and shouts from motor-coach passengers, and hootings from car horns. But Nigel Spottiswoode carried on.

Three poster parades circled the streets and approaches to Rushmoor Arena, and were flanked by PEACE NEWS sellers and literature distributors. PEACE NEWS, with its special Tattoo poster "Aldershot, Canton, Barcelona," was also sold at street corners, the railway station, and the entrance to the Tattoo. Cars displaying posters cruised about the town at the same time.

Paraders came from London, Hastings, and from various groups in the Home Counties.

Operations were directed by Roy Walker, assistant group organizer, assisted by Nigel Spottiswoode and C. W. Hope Gill (Hampshire regional secretary).

Poster parades were begun on the first night of the Tattoo—last Wednesday—and have continued this week until the final night, tonight.

FROM WAR TO PAGEANTRY

As to the Tattoo itself, the fact that it attempts to turn war's realities into pageantry was shown by *The Times*, which said on June 8:

The Aldershot Tattoo has long since established itself as the indispensable summer entertainment—and more than entertainment—of Southern England. Once more tonight, in the beautiful arena at Rushmoor, the army begins the annual series of stately and gracious spectacles, with the double object of giving to civilians a glimpse of the trained men round whom they will have to rally in case of national peril, and of helping the charitable funds that serve the necessities of soldiers and soldiers' families.

WHAT EFFECT ON CHILDREN?

On the previous afternoon more than 60,000 children had been to see the annual daylight rehearsal of the Tattoo—half as many again as attended the rehearsal last year.

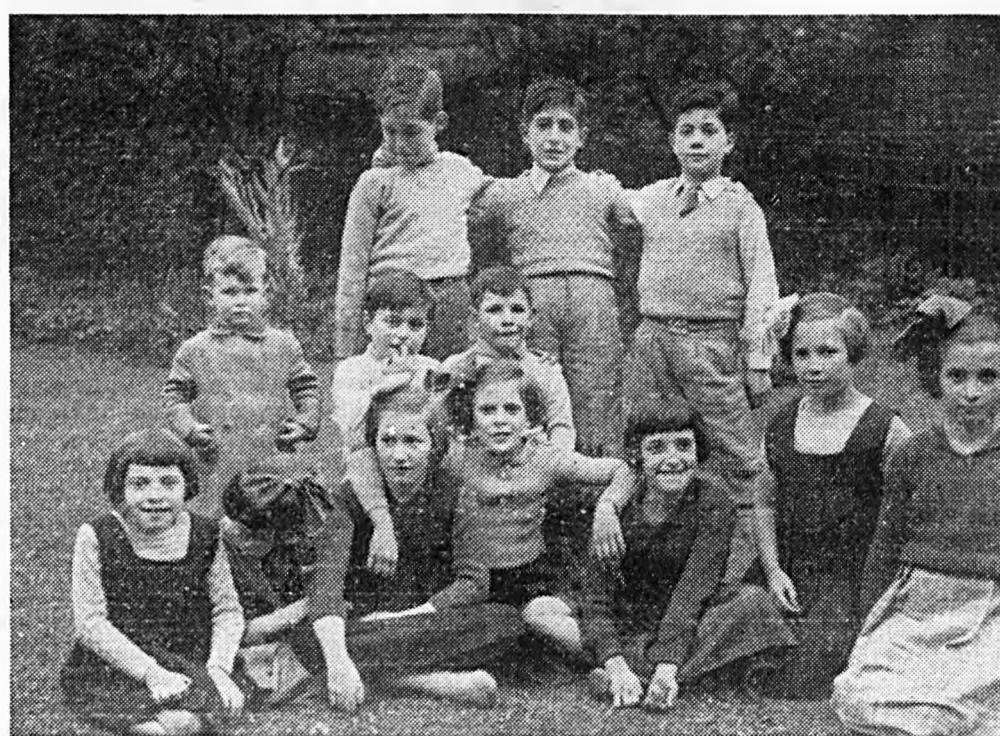
According to the *News Chronicle*:

If every child present thought the Tattoo was the world's finest show, everyone of the 5,000 men taking part was convinced that the children were the world's finest audience.

MORAL REARMAMENT

Speaking at Oxford recently, Dr. Frank Buchman, founder of the Group Movement, said that the world crisis today was fundamentally a moral one, and Britain and the world must rearm morally. A wave of absolute unselfishness throughout the world would be the end of war.

Dealing with social problems, he said: If everybody cared enough and everybody shared enough, everybody would have enough. There is enough for everyone's need, but not enough for everyone's greed.



A group of Basque children from the Kingston Hill Home whom Kingston-on-Thames group of the Peace Pledge Union entertained to tea

Pacifist's A.R.P. Protest in Presence of Home Secretary

FELLOW ARCHITECTS APPLAUD ATTACK ON "NONSENSE"

IR raid precautions were referred to as "nonsense" by Mr. F. D. Bush, a deputy police architect to Scotland Yard, at a meeting held by the Institute of British Architects on Monday.

Mr. Bush is a member of the Peace Pledge Union and his attitude is shared by thousands of others. His protest was ignored in a report of the meeting in *The Times*, though the *Daily Telegraph* gave it prominence.

Sir Samuel Hoare, Home Secretary—and therefore a superior of Mr. Bush—had just addressed the meeting and was present when Mr. Bush said: "It causes me moral indignation that we should be spending so much money and effort on something I believe to be useless. We are architects with ideals. Let us be frank and say we will have nothing to do with this nonsense."

NO USE IN AIR RAID

Referring to a building he had designed recently, of which the cost for ARP was from eight to ten percent, Mr. Bush said he did not believe it would be of any more use in an air raid than an umbrella.

Such precautions were, in fact, merely intended to frighten the enemy. He thought there was a better way than that.

Sir Thomas Inskip, too, had been

No. 2 now ready.

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STOP PRESS

Mr. Oliver Stanley's two points (House of Commons debate, Wednesday night) to be borne in mind in considering possibility of economic appeasement on lines of Van Zandt Report:—that tariffs have "come to stay," and that "Ottawa system also will remain"—mean no appeasement at all.

THIS FLAT REFUSAL OF WAY OF PEACE, IN KEEPING WITH GOVERNMENT'S DETERMINED WAR PREPARATION OF THE NATION GIVES EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY FOR LABOUR MOVEMENT AND ALL WHO DESIRE PEACE TO JOIN ISSUE WITH GOVERNMENT NOW ON BASIS OF REFUSAL OF WAR AND ACTIVE PURSUIT OF ECONOMIC PEACE AS ONLY POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE TO PRESENT POLICY.

Pacifism at Scottish Summer School

From Our Own Correspondent

"THE Implications of Pacifism" will be the general subject of study at a summer school at Dollarbeg, during the weekend September 24 to 26, being arranged by the Glasgow branch of the Peace Pledge Union.

Speakers are expected to be Lord Marley, Max Plowman, the Rev. Henry Carter, the Rev. George Macleod, and W. H. Marwick.

Groups will discuss the political, economic and personal implications of pacifism, and pacifism as an immediate policy.

Fee for the course, including board, &c., is 30s. A first instalment of 5s. must be paid on application, which should be made before July 26. Only seventy students can be accommodated, so early application is advisable.

The school is not confined to members in the Glasgow area, nor, indeed, to members of the PPU only. A general invitation is issued to all interested to attend.

Applications should be made to Andrew White, 3, Westbank Quadrant, Glasgow, W.2.

getting people to attend ARP lectures. Frequently people attend a few lectures and then stay away.

The Home Office might learn a useful lesson from the methods adopted by a well-known daily newspaper. The paper in question decided to make a stunt of being the first office to have its own ARP squad.

The first move was to appoint the relative of one of the directors as office-warden-in-chief. The newspaper staff was then invited to attend not ARP classes, but a first-aid course. The warden-in-chief pointed out that in the event of an air raid on London, somebody would be needed to deal with people injured by broken glass.

Volunteers were invited to attend lectures once a week, and they would receive 2s. 6d. per lecture as "expenses." At the end of the course, those who passed the examination for the St. John Ambulance Certificate would receive a bonus of 25s.

The idea was to get about forty volunteers but, strange to say, there were over 100 starters and most of them stayed the course.

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will be the
Rev. LEWIS MACLACHLAN of
Newcastle
Editor of "Reconciliation."
All interested in Christian Pacifism are most welcome.

Employees Paid for Attending Course

Meanwhile, great difficulty is being experienced throughout the country in

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